

Exploring the Representative Nature of Development Journalism: A Content Analysis of Newspapers of Bangladesh

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MDP in Media and Global Communication

Master's Thesis

April 2019

Abstract

Development is a fundamental issue for many countries especially, developing nations. The media can play an important role in national development by connecting the government, people and development process. Thus, development journalism is one form of media function that emphasizes on advancement of living conditions of people by investigating and scrutinizing development plans, policies and actions of the government.

This is why I decided to examine development issues in the media of developing country, Bangladesh. Specifically, my purpose was to explore how Bangladeshi journalists represent development issues in their media as notion of development journalism implies that it should focus on advancement of ordinary people.

To conduct the research, I selected three most popular and influential newspapers (e-version) of Bangladesh in which one English and two other Bengali. These are: The Daily Star, Prothom Alo and Jugantor and the data regarding the development news stories were selected from January 2018 to June 2018. By applying mixed method, I carried out the quantitative and qualitative content analysis of development issues, for qualitative approach frame analysis was used. The study was based on the Modernization and Participatory theory of development communication and it explored representative nature of development news published by those newspapers in that period as well frequency of development news and themes in those papers.

The findings revealed that development issues get little attention to the Bangladeshi media. Newspapers of this study published less than 3 percent development news in the time duration of January 2018 to June 2018 which showed a disappointing trend towards the practice of development journalism. The analysis also showed that among 13 development news themes, energy and infrastructure was the most published news topic followed by trade and business, education; on the contrary, gender equality and women empowerment, ethnic and minority rights, environmental sustainability, good governance and administrative reforms were the least preferable themes. Among three papers The Daily Star and Prothom Alo covered more diverse themes than that of Jugantor. In addition to those, development priorities exhibited in three newspapers overall reflected Bangladesh's government development goals; however, discrepancies among them implied development journalism differ on the basis of each newspapers' structural imperatives.

Finally, this study examined the representative nature of development news in three

newspapers of Bangladesh. The analysis revealed that journalists of Bangladeshi print media prefer unidirectional or modernization development communication approach (59%) in development journalism practice, it also showed a moderate portion (41%) of the representation of the participatory approach. This indicate they represent a combined approach of development communication approach with persuasive communication and Western-styled development model along with acknowledging the general peoples' view although the participatory portion is not satisfactory to the expectation level of development journalism practice.

Key Words: Development Journalism, Development, Bangladesh, Newspapers, Representation.

Acknowledgments

I sincerely thank my supervisor Johanna Sumiala for her advice, guidance and constructive suggestions which made my research experience interesting. I am grateful to her for understanding my situation.

I also thank my previous supervisor Leena Ripatti-Torniainen for her advice and suggestions at the initial stage of my research project. I also thank her for helping me to formulate my thesis.

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1.Introduction

This research examined the representation of development journalism in the three most popular newspapers of Bangladesh from January 2018 to June 2018 through the quantitative and qualitative content analysis of the news. The objective of this study was to explore the development news stories and how development news was conveyed in addition to which development themes were presented in those print media. This goal was on the basis of my aim to create a concern for development journalism practice and subjective steps in Bangladeshi media. I hope that a sensible perception of how the mass media covers development issues of Bangladesh will result in the re-evaluation of the precedencies in the Bangladeshi media policy which will lead to substantial media organizational actions to increase development journalism practice and change the nature of the presentation. This study is considered a research under the field of media and communication studies as it attempted to explore the media's role in mobilizing and creating public awareness through their message.

Development is an intrinsic, value-laden cultural process which includes the natural and social environment, education, creation, depletion and social security (Narula, 2002). From the economic perspective, development means economic growth of a country and from the social point of view, it means a change in the social formations or actions which are executed by numerous units and parties within it (Jwadder & Hazarika, 2012, p. 213). Rogers (1983) defined development from the humanistic approach in which social change occurs through a participatory process. Thus, development is a crucial concern for many countries particularly, for the underdeveloped or developing one.

The media is called the fourth estate in a democratic society; hence, it is widely assumed that the media can play a key role in mobilizing and accelerating the process of development (Domatob & Hall,1983; Edeani 1993; Lipon & Akhter 2002; Xiaoge, 2009). There is a strong relationship between the media and the national development of a country. The media have an influence on society not only through the content of information but also through the actions as it plays a pivotal role in constructing awareness among citizens as well as in transforming public views. The press acts as an arbitrator that gathers news and serves it to the public; furthermore, it reveals many critical issues to the public and also to the government (Jwadder

& Hazarika, 2012). The significance of media in the development process of a country usually related to the media's role in connecting the government and society (Solomon, 2014, p.1). According to Puddephatt (2011), 'The media functions as a watchdog; promoting government transparency and public scrutiny of those with power by exposing corruption, maladministration and corporate wrongdoing; and thereby a tool to enhance economic efficiency' (p.68). He further noted, a media surrounding with assortment, multiplicity, penetration for everyone and a concerned government ultimately drives to collective development (*Ibid*).

Thus, development journalism is one form of media function that concerned to the advancements of living situations of people especially, in developing nations. Development journalism is considered important as it emphasizes on empowering the marginal people of society towards attaining their goals and development as a whole. It tends to criticize the government based on the success and flaws in development plans and activities (Xiaoge, 2009). The main concept of development journalism lies in the relation of the press, society and development (Puddephatt, 2011, p.68). Development journalism practice emerged from development and development communication theories and evolved with development communication theories. This form of journalism and its feasible influence on society attained much popularity in the 1970s and 1980s in the developing world (Vilanilam, 1979). Since then exercises and studies have continued as communication researchers, journalists and governments are trying to find out effective ways to make a better life for the people of developing nations. Theoretically related with the development communication, this journalism practice was expected to play a decisive role in accelerating national development. Such beliefs and expectations were the salient forces behind the popularity of development journalism among developing nations in Asia, Africa and Latin America (Xiaoge, 2009).

While in the advanced world journalism practice concentrates on advanced media forms, a large portion of populace in the developing world recommences to strive for primary needs and usually remains inaccessible even to the traditional media like radio, television, newspaper (Kelleher, 2014). Though new media technologies are available in Bangladesh, development journalism mainly practiced in the print media. This paper continues to investigate the media representation of national development by examining three newspapers' practice of development journalism in the developing South-Asian country Bangladesh.

1.1 The rationale and aim of the study

The aim and justification to conduct this study are influenced by three main reasons: firstly, a renewed interest in development journalism practice in developing nation Bangladesh. Traditionally, in the 1960s in the Philippines development journalism concept introduced to report on general people of the society and their development. Development journalism focuses on involving marginal people in recognizing their problems and feasible solutions towards development which is contrary to the Western journalism that stressed on impartiality and neutrality. It was assumed that Western journalism practice is apathetic to the ordinary audience (Xiaoge, 2009). In the 1970s, development journalism widely practiced in three continents: South America, Asia and Africa. In Asia, it was extensively practiced by countries like Bangladesh, China, Indonesia, India, Malaysia, Singapore. Development journalism was considered as a suitable way to disseminate both information and development for the advancement of developing countries (Domatob & Hall, 1983; Xiaoge, 2009).

However, the practice of development journalism declined in the 1980s due to globalization where Western styled journalism influenced journalists of the developing world (Skjerdal, 2011). Nevertheless, in the mid-2000s this journalism practice gained popularity again (Solomon, 2014). Hence, at the end of the millennium, Bangladesh experienced a media boom. Currently, there are many mass media in Bangladesh but a few of those media except print, practice development journalism (Alam, 2010). Among print media, the newspaper is the key exercise ground for development journalism; unfortunately, in Bangladesh, most of the journalism studies conducted on newspapers' investigative, political, crime, and gender issues (Lipon, 1999; Lipon & Akhter 2002). Only a few studies were carried out on newspapers' development journalism practice in Bangladesh. By examining the development journalism practice in contemporary Bangladeshi media which is ignored by the researchers, this research hopes to add a new dimension on this renewed form of journalism in Bangladesh.

Secondly, detached attempts towards serving the general people although development journalism ideologies indicate its focus should be on ordinary people. The concept of development journalism is based on the advancement of ordinary people, not the elite. Here, the term 'ordinary people' means the poor, less privileged and marginalized populace (Xiaoge, 2009, p.13). Thus, development journalism practice has been criticized for paying no attention

to ordinary people (Pandian, 1999). Overall, the practice has been ignoring issues such as: ‘an emphasis on ordinary people, the understanding of audiences as active receivers and not passive consumers of information, the goal of positive social change, the preference of participatory techniques and a critical journalism stance’ (Solomon, 2014, p.3). The argument is, development journalism asserts that it focuses on the ordinary people, but the practice of development journalism made their assertion illusive while marginalized people of society largely ignored by the media and journalists. By exploring the development journalism concept and development communication theories related to development journalism that focuses on general people, this research tried to investigate how the media represents it.

Thirdly, examine the recognition of development challenges in Bangladesh. Being a developing country, Bangladesh is still at the elementary level of the development process and facing many challenges such as ‘unemployment, corruption, social disparity, gender equality, adverse effect of climate change, militancy, earthquake, etc.’ (Alam, 2010, para.9). In recognition of the substantial development challenges, the Bangladesh government has set a development plan called Vision 2021. As such, how media of Bangladesh effectively reflected that development plan through development journalism to improve the situation will be examined.

1.2 Research questions

Conducting my study, I applied two different approaches, qualitative and quantitative content analysis. I explored development news stories published in January 2018 to June 2018. I selected this particular time as examining these current news stories, I can analyze the contemporary media condition of Bangladesh concerning the development issues and make some valid interpretations. For qualitative analysis, I explored the features of the chosen news content, texts, different angles and headlines; I also inspected viewpoints of the journalists and of those papers. For the quantitative analysis, I examined the frequency and themes of development news published in those newspapers at that time. This study is concerned with development news content of three Bangladeshi national newspapers. Hence, the following research question is the main question of this study:

- 1) How is development, a fundamental issue in developing countries like Bangladesh, represented in the Bangladeshi media specifically, newspapers?

Besides this, the following questions are formulated to support the main question:

- 2) What is the extent of coverage of development news in those newspapers?
- 3) Which development news topics are most often published in three newspapers and is there a difference among those papers in terms of covering development topics?
Do those development themes reflect the development goals of Bangladesh government's development plan?

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is concerned with the development news representation in the Bangladeshi newspapers and it consists of three parts.

Theoretical framework investigated the foundation of development journalism which is related to development and development communication theories and explained theories which were applied in this research. Later, the literature review discussed the concepts of development journalism and previous studies conducted by worldwide researchers.

Methodology and Data is the second part; here, I described the whole procedure of the research. I also clarified the data collection process and why I chose print media. Furthermore, I focused on methods and their scientific nature as a central tool for my analysis. Finally, I tried to explain the validity of my study.

The analysis is the main part of the study. It consists of quantitative and qualitative content analysis. In the context of quantitative analysis, I examined the number of development news articles in the newspapers from January 2018 to June 2018 and development themes in those articles. For qualitative analysis, I have chosen the frame analysis. Through frame analysis, I explored the features of the chosen news content, texts, different angles and headlines; I also inspected viewpoints of the journalists and of those papers.

Conclusion pointed out the major outcomes of my thesis. Here, I abridged the main findings of the research to answer my questions concerning the coverage of the development topics presented in the newspapers. Finally, I defined the feasible ways of more exploration of the

thesis which will likely make an upcoming research of the Bangladeshi media profound and useful.

1.4 Background

The study is concerned with the representation of development journalism on national newspapers of Bangladesh. So, it is necessary to give an idea about Bangladesh and the situation of national development precisely. This part also concentrated on the media landscape of Bangladesh and development journalism practice in the Bangladeshi media.

1.4.1 Bangladesh overview

Bangladesh is a South-Asian country with a total area of 147,570 square kilometers (Health Bulletin, 2016) and 160 million people (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics [BBS], 2018). It is the world's eighth most populous country and the ninety-second largest country (BBS, 2018). The country became independent in 1971 from Pakistan after winning a nine months bloody war where three million people lost their lives (Ministry of Liberation War Affairs, n.d.).

Since its independence, Bangladesh has experienced many systems of governance, from 1991 the multi-party system is running the country (Riaz, 2014, p.150). The country is a parliamentary representative democratic country where the prime minister is chosen by the majority members of the parliament. Prime minister is the head of the government and the cabinet. Parliament of Bangladesh consists of 350 members, 300 members from 300 regional constituencies and the other 50 seats are reserved for female nominees by political parties. According to the constitution, a parliament term is limited to five years. Executive power is exercised by the government (Bangladesh Parliament, n.d.).

The country follows a moderate foreign policy that gives importance to international diplomacy, particularly at the United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, n.d.). As a member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), Bangladesh has tended to not take sides with major powers (Nuclear Threat Initiative, 2018). In addition to membership in these organizations, Bangladesh is the initial member of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), also the member of Commonwealth of

Nations, Organization for Islamic Cooperation (OIC), Bay of Bengal Initiative for Multisectoral Technical and Economic Cooperation (BIMSTEC), Developing 8 Countries, World Customs Organization (WCO), Group of 77.

1.4.2 The socio-economic scenario of Bangladesh

Being a developing country, national development is unsurprisingly a top priority of Bangladesh. It is one of the fastest growing economies in the world with a market-based economy. By nominal terms, Bangladesh is the 42nd largest economy and by purchasing power capacity, 31st in the world and classified one of the Next Eleven emerging nations, and 2nd most pro-free market in the world (Devnath, 2016; “Bangladesh world’s 2nd most pro-market,” 2014). Its per capita income estimated \$1751 (“Per capita income now \$1751,” 2018). Bangladesh has the third largest economy in South-East Asia and second highest foreign exchange reserves (“Remittance hits a record \$15.31b,” 2015).

Bangladesh implemented a socialist economic policy after the independence in 1971. Thus, after launching the free market system in 1991, the country’s private sector expanded rapidly (Khan, 2013). Main industries of the country include textiles, medicines, ship construction, steel, electronics, energy, construction materials, chemicals, porcelains, food processing and leather goods. Most export earnings are from the apparel industry followed by pharmaceuticals, food processing and leather goods (Wikipedia, n.d.). However, an inadequate power supply is a significant obstruction to Bangladesh’s economic growth (International Monetary Fund [IMF]- Country Report, 2013). According to The World Bank Group (2015), poor ascendency, corruption and weak public institutions are also major challenges to national economic development.

Agriculture is one of the largest sectors of the economy, making up 14.2 percent of Bangladesh GDP [Gross Domestic Product] (Central Intelligence Agency [CIA], n.d.). The agricultural sector influences employment generation, poverty reduction, human resource development and food security. Textile and readymade garment industries are the country’s largest manufacturing sector (Ahmed, 2015). Leather goods manufacturing particularly, footwear is the second largest export sector. The service sector accounts for 51 percent of the country’s

GDP (Rahman, 2014). Dhaka and Chittagong stock exchanges are the country's two biggest financial markets. Bangladesh's telecommunication industry is one of the world's fastest growing with 157 .048 million subscribers (Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission [BTRC], n.d.). Transport is a major sector of the economy though it is still quite underdeveloped. Tourism is also a booming sector in Bangladesh.

The health sector is still relatively underdeveloped. In rural areas, village doctors with little or no formal training comprise 62 per cent of healthcare and qualified doctors are only four per cent of total healthcare (Bhuiya, 2009). Bangladesh's poor healthcare is attributed to the lack of healthcare provision by the government (World Health Organization [WHO], 2019). Food insecurity and malnutrition has been a major problem in Bangladesh. According to a study (2016), 35 percent people are in food insecurity and 36 percent children under age of five are 'suffering from chronic malnutrition' and '14 percent are acutely malnourished' (United States Agency for International Development [USAID], 2018, p.1). The World Bank data (2018) shows an estimated 98 per cent of the country population has access to improved water supply; however, water quality is not according to the standard level in all areas.

The country also has an active social NGOs (Non-Governmental Organization) including Nobel peace prize winning (2006) micro-finance organization Grameen Bank ("The Nobel Peace Prize," 2006) and BRAC, which is world's largest non-governmental organization ("BRAC in business," 2010).

According to UNESCO's Institute for Statistics (UIS) data, the literacy rate in Bangladesh has increased gradually and in 2016 it reached to 72.76 percent. Over time, the literacy rate for female has risen to 69.90 per cent, for male 75.62 percent ("Unesco: Bangladesh literacy rate," 2018).

Although women are leading as prime minister, the main opposition leader, speaker of the parliament, women of Bangladesh still living under the patriarchal social regime (Das, 2008). Thus, female participation in the workforce has increased by 35.6 percent in 2016 (Khatun, 2018). Women are dominating agriculture, social services, the apparel industry, healthcare, education, the private sector, and administrative jobs.

Therefore, like many developing countries, the country continues to face numerous socio-

economic, political and environmental challenges; corruption is one of them. In 2018, Bangladesh ranked 149th out of 180 countries in Transparency International's Corruption Perception Index - 2018 with a score of 26 out of 100 (Transparency International - Bangladesh [TIB], 2018). Moreover, Bangladesh placed 88th out of 167 countries with a score of 5.57 on The Democracy Index - 2018 of the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU). According to this report, Bangladeshi democracy is in the 'hybrid regime' category, which refers to the countries where elections have significant inconsistencies which often obstruct them from being both free and fair. Government pressures on the opposition parties and civil societies are weak in terms of influence. Media cannot operate with full freedom and there is pressure on journalists and the judiciary is not fully independent ("EIU Democracy Index", 2019).

Despite numerous challenges, the country has gained significant success in education, food security, gender equality, health, child mortality and life expectancy which led economic growth and reduced economic vulnerability ("Leaving the LDCs category," 2018). Notwithstanding past progress with poverty reduction, the government of Bangladesh still recognizes it as a low-income developing country. Many people still living under the poverty line, secondary and higher education facilities are not satisfactory, social protection programs are inadequate, a large number of people is disproportionately affected by natural disasters and the adverse effects of climate change. In recognition of these tangible development challenges, the government has endorsed a perspective plan covering 2010 to 2021 which is known as Vision 2021. The main development goals in Vision 2021 include:

- 'Building a secular tolerant liberal progressive democratic state
- Promoting good governance and curbing corruption
- Promoting sustainable human development
- Reducing the growth of population
- Instituting a prudent macroeconomic policy mix
- Prompting a favorable industrialization and trade policy regime
- Addressing globalization and regional cooperation challenges
- Ensuring an adequate supply of electricity and fuel
- Achieving food security
- Making available adequate infrastructure
- Pursuing environmentally friendly development and
- Building a digital Bangladesh' (IMF - Country Report, 2013, p.19).

This study is related to the representation of development journalism in Bangladeshi media. For that reason, this section traces media evolution in Bangladesh briefly and discusses the media landscape and constraints of journalism practice in Bangladesh.

1.4.3 Media landscape of Bangladesh

Bangladesh is a ‘hybrid democratic’ country (see the previous section) (“EIU Democracy Index,” 2019) with a partly free media system (Freedom House, 2018). Although the constitution of Bangladesh gives full guarantee of freedom of expression and freedom of thought as a fundamental right, freedom of the media remains a crucial concern due to government’s attempts to censor media and harassment of the journalists. Moreover, Bangladeshi media facing corporate pressures from owners, stakeholders and advertisers. Thus, here at first, I discuss the emergence of mass media and a precise scenario of mass media in Bangladesh, especially print; then constraints of journalism practice in Bangladesh.

Print Media

The first print media specifically, the newspaper named *The Bengal Gazette* was published in 1780 (Moslem, Rahman & Dhar, 2003, p.10). Some other newspapers were *Calcutta Gazette* (1784), *Bengal Journal* (1875) and *Calcutta Chronicle* (1786), *Sambad Koumudi* (1821). A school teacher Harinath Majumdar published a monthly newspaper *Grambartha Prokashika* in April 1863. This newspaper was a critic of British ruled government and the landlords. It was dedicated to creating awareness among the people against the suppression of the ruling class. The first ever newspaper for women was published in 1906 from Dhaka, named *Bharat Mohila* (*Ibid*). Since then the newspaper industry has come a long way, it faced many obstacles during 1958-1971. After the liberation war of Bangladesh (1971), the print media industry flourished gradually (Khan, 2013).

Bangladesh has witnessed a media boom in the post-1990s. The first stage of boom took place in 1991 in the print media when the caretaker administration ‘annulled the abusive and undemocratic Printing and Publishing Ordinance’ after the fall of the military regime in December 1990 (Saleh & Chowdhury, 2009 as cited in Khan, 2013, p.1). The first caretaker

government revived press freedom and paved the way for easy publication in the newspaper industry as the businesspersons have begun to take the opportunities of the new regulation of publishing by financing in the media sector (Khan, 2013). While the circulation of much influential print media declining in many Western countries, Bangladesh is one of the handful countries where print media is flourishing day by day although few old papers' circulations decreasing gradually (Azad, 2019).

Due to the low literacy rate and high price, newspapers circulation was always low in the country. Hundreds of television channels including national and transnational, high-speed internet and digital media have made the existence of print media more difficult. Thus, the print is the second most popular media in Bangladesh with 23.8 percent readership, according to the National Media Survey (NMS) of 2016. One fascinating fact is that despite the surge of electronic and online media, the readership of print media has not truly declined that much. The NMS report (2002) showed that in 1995 newspaper readership was 12 percent which increased to 25.8 percent in 2002. National media and demographic survey conducted by Nielson Bangladesh in 2015 also showed a similar trend with 25.68 per cent readership (Azad, 2019).

Despite increasing challenges and a declining trend in the readership of some print media, it resides instrumental and this media plays an important role in constructing public opinion by its serious journalism which is absent in other media (Chowdhury, 2003). Currently, in Bangladesh, there are 3096 newspapers and magazines, in which 1237 are daily newspapers; among them 93 national dailies: 71 Bengali and 22 English. Of the dailies, 496 are based on the capital city. Among all of them, 10 leading Bengali national newspapers have over 90 percent of the circulation and the rest of the dailies have a very limited number of circulation (Department of Films & Publications, 2018). English circulation is quite low than that of Bengali papers. Among the English papers, The Daily Star holds the majority of the English circulation, 77 percent. Some of the most popular Bengali newspapers are: Prothom Alo, Jugantor, Kaler Kontho, Bangladesh Protidin, Noya Diganta, Ajker Kagoj etc., and some popular English newspapers are: The Daily Star, New Age, Financial Express, New Nation, The Independent, The Observer, Daily Sun.

Besides newspapers, one state-owned news agency named Bangladesh Sangbad Sangtha (BSS), three half weekly, 1188 weekly, 214 fortnightly, 413 monthly, eight bimonthly, 28

quarterly, one four monthly, two half yearly and two yearly magazines publishing from all over the country. Among total 3096 newspapers and magazines, 1287 publish from the capital and the rest of 1809 outside the capital city (*Ibid*).

Other Media

At present, 30 Bengali television channels broadcasting in the country in which one is state-owned and the rest of them private. A dozen more television channels got the license and will broadcast very soon. Nielson survey (2017) showed that television is the most popular media as viewership increased from 74 percent (2011) to 84 percent in 2016. However, it saw a slight fall in 2018, 80 percent (Azad, 2019).

Besides one state-owned radio with ten regional stations, 35 commercial and community radio stations are operating in the country, a dozen more are expected to start operation in the near future. Among those stations, 17 entertainment based and other 18 community radios (*Ibid*).

Latest media technologies have added a new dimension to the Bangladeshi media sphere. Most of the news media have websites, Facebook pages, Twitter accounts and Youtube channels. There is good competition with the newspapers' online services. Now, in Bangladesh 77 registered online news portals publish news 24/7 (Ministry of Information, n.d.)

Furthermore, Bangladesh is witnessing a rapid increase in internet users in recent time, latest data shows (as per 2018, February) 83.14 million people have net access, an astounding 93 percent of them use the internet through the mobile phone (Bangladesh Telecommunication Regulatory Commission, n.d.). The NMS (2016) data shows, per year user of internet growth, is 8 percent and for rural areas, this is surprisingly 148 percent (Azad, 2019).

Media constraints in Bangladesh

Over the last decade, private mega-corporations in Bangladesh started investing in the media market, now most of the influential media are owned and controlled by those corporate groups. In his book, *Media in times of crisis: National and international issues* (2003), Afsan Chowdhury contended that large private corporations took over the space of mass media and journalists of those media often work for the business and economic interest of those

corporations. For instance, Transcom Group, one of the biggest business conglomerates in Bangladesh has shares in mobile phones, electronics, pharmaceuticals, and food and beverage, also owns most influential and popular media in the country which include a Bengali newspaper Prothom Alo, an English newspaper The Daily Star, FM channel ABC radio, various magazines and Prothoma Prokashon, a publishing house which publishes books. This trend may indeed be contrary to a healthy media environment. According to a UNESCO report (2009), media conglomeration has constructed an atmosphere in which mass media have become homogenized which lacks diversity and creativity (see in Farhana, 2014, para.6). It is certainly true for Bangladeshi media; no matter which media audiences consume, it is quite the same in terms of presenting news which is often inaccurate, partisan and pro-market rather than pro-people. Moreover, Bangladeshi media tend to focus on city audience; a study found that media gives little attention to rural people's concern, thoughts and actions although most of the people live rural areas (BBC media action, 2012).

Besides above-mentioned pressures, the media in the country facing numerous restrictions attributed by the laws. Although the constitution of Bangladesh secured the rights of freedom and speech, and expression for all citizens along with the press freedom, this freedom is not unconditional, in several cases, there are reasonable restrictions. To harass journalists and reduce media freedom, existing colonial and contemporary laws often being used. Powerful people and law enforcers often misuse these laws when journalists report something against their interest. Whenever media reports any wrongdoing of the government which damages their reputation, lawmakers start to criticize them. In recent years, ruling party people often file a so-called defamation case against journalists, moreover, an increasing number of journalists facing direct or indirect threats from pro-government people. While the government would refuse those facts by stating these laws are meant for the security of the country and people, it is making new laws and regulations to halt the free information flow (Azad, 2019).

Thus, there are some outdated laws still interrupting media's work in many ways: The Code of Criminal Procedure (CrPc) 1898, Official Secrets Act 1926, Special Power Act 1974 and Copyright Act 2000. The government and powerful people have a record of exploiting these laws. The Information and Communication Technology Act (ICT) (2006) is one of the noteworthy laws, which has a clause (section 57) to bring the charge against journalists for hurting and defaming religious beliefs and head of the government in which punishment is 10 years prison time. In 2013, this law was amended to make it tougher, expanding prison time

from 10 years to 14 years and removing the section of bail. This had a negative consequence for the media, more than 20 journalists were sued in 2017 under Section 57 of this act. Moreover, the government passed a new regulation in 2014 named National Broadcasting Policy for electronic media which is widely condemned by media personalities, journalists, civil society and rights groups, they extracted ‘concern about a possible misuse of some of its provisions’ and the way of diminishing the constitutional right of the mass media (Azad, 2019, Media legislation, para.6). The right organizations urged the government to annul the policy, claiming that it imposes repressive abridgement on press freedom.

By observing the aforementioned situation, it can be said that Bangladeshi media continuously facing numerous challenges which are obstacles to healthy and free journalism practice in the country. Hence, this study related to print media’s development journalism practice particularly three newspapers, so I presented a short description of those newspapers: Prothom Alo, Jugantor and The Daily Star.

Prothom Alo

Prothom Alo (First Sight) is the largest circulated Bengali newspaper (5,01,800) in Bangladesh (Department of Films & Publications, 2018). It is considered the most popular and influential newspaper in the country. According to the National Media Survey (NMS) 2018, Prothom Alo is the most circulated paper in Bangladesh with 6.6 million readerships. In the NMS 2016, Prothom Alo had a 5.3 million readership which rose to 6.6 million in 2018. As per Google Analytics, every day one million people read the paper’s digital version (www.prothomalo.com), which makes it the highest read Bengali website, a total 7.6 million readership every day (“6.6m readership makes Prothom Alo highest read,” 2018). According to Alexa, it is the top positioned Bengali website and third most viewed site in Bangladesh after Google and Youtube and its global rank is 519. Furthermore, on average, each of the visitors stays for 10.55 minutes on this site (Alexa, n.d.). NMS (2012) data showed that Prothom Alo is accessed by viewers from 200 countries (Azad, 2019). Currently, more than 14 million people have been following this paper’s Facebook page (www.facebook.com/DailyProthomAlo) and in terms of followers, it attains 73rd place among all media organizations in the world (“6.6m readership makes Prothom Alo,” 2018). Prothom Alo’s blog (www.prothomaloblog.com) provides a preeminent platform for bloggers where they get the opportunity to engage in various critical and contemporary issues.

The paper was founded in 1998 November 4. It gained popularity by its investigative news on acid attacks and violence against women and pressuring the government for strict laws against the acid sale. The paper is owned by Transcom Group Limited (a business conglomerate in Bangladesh) which also owns an English daily, an FM radio channel, a publication house, bookselling outlets, a quarterly journal and a monthly magazine, a children magazine. According to Prothom Alo, it practices neutral reporting and committed to basic rights of the people, democratic practices and free judiciary along with market economy (Anam, 2008).

Jugantor

Jugantor is another leading and most selling Bengali national newspaper with a circulation of 300,000. It has almost 6.5 million (6,471,240) followers on Facebook (https://www.facebook.com/DainikJugantor/?epa=SEARCH_BOX). It was first published in 2000 February 1, owned by Jamuna Group which is another big corporate group in Bangladesh. It has several sections including crime scene, lifestyles, technology, entertainment, literature, reader organization, women page, jobs corner, environment corner, religion and life.

At the beginning of its publication days, Jugantor gained massive popularity by its neutral, objective and in-depth reporting and consequential and impartial editorials.

According to the paper's policy, it 'maintains the highest standard of journalism in Bangladesh with impartial and authentic news presentation' (Daily Jugantor, n.d.). The paper gives importance to fulfil readers' quest for news and entertainment through comprehensive news as well as interesting extra every day.

The Daily Star

The Daily Star is the most circulated (44,814) and influential English daily in Bangladesh (Department of Films & Publications, 2018). According to this paper, it controls 77 percent of total English circulation (The Daily Star, n.d.) As per Alexa rank, it is the 22th most visited site in Bangladesh and 6167th in globally and an average, per visitor, spends 4.57 minutes on this site (Alexa, n.d.). It has almost three million (2,989,760) followers on the Facebook page (<https://www.facebook.com/dailystarnews/>).

Although English newspapers' readership is quite insignificant in comparison with Bengali papers, in terms of significance they have a big impact especially, on the decision-makers of society. Thus, regardless of their circulation numbers, they are substantially important (Genilo, Asiuzzaman & Osmani, 2016). The Daily Star constantly advocated for issues like campaign against the strike which is a way of protest in Bangladesh, environmental conservancy and women's equal rights (Reza & Haque, 2011). The paper also published numerous critical reports against the emergence of extremism (Genilo et al., 2016).

According to The Daily Star's policy, its 'long-term responsibility is to strengthen public opinion on how the democratic system should work' (The Daily Star, n.d, para.3). Its editorial stance is liberal and progressive. The paper has an outstanding record of investigative journalism and objective reporting. It promotes freedom of the press, human rights, gender issues, rule of law and transparency and accountability of the government. Its motto is 'committed to peoples' right to know.'

The paper started its journey in 1991, as that time Bangladesh shifted to a multi-party democracy after more than a decade of autocratic rule. The paper is owned by Media World, in which Transcom Group holds the majority of shares, it's main bureaus located in Dhaka and Chittagong, along with many local and abroad representatives. It has various sections: news, opinion and editorial, sports, business, arts and entertainment, national and metropolitan and supplements. The Star, Forum, Lifestyles, Star Insight, Science and Life, Law and our Rights and Star Literature are the main supplements. The online version of The Daily Star updates 24/7 with the latest news.

Development journalism has been long a practiced tradition in Bangladeshi print media although their proportion is insignificant. However, it gained little scholarly attention especially in recent time; for that reason, I hardly could collect any contemporary data from which I can analyze the recent trend of development journalism on newspapers of Bangladesh. So far only eight studies are to be found on development journalism concerning Bangladesh in which the latest one is from the 2002 study conducted by Lipon and Akhter. However, here I presented those studies briefly.

1.4.4 Development Journalism practice in Bangladeshi media

Media is considered as an important tool in the national development process of Bangladesh. Bangladesh government has given priority on the media's role in national development. Prime minister Sheikh Hasina stated that media should play a key role in the national development process ("PM Hasina says her govt," 2018). The government also stressed that the press should contribute to national development activities and recognize development plans and policies implemented by the government.

Thus, development journalism concept is not new for Bangladeshi media, it's been practiced from the beginning of the journalism practice in the country, especially after the independence (Lipon & Akhter, 2002). However, few studies were conducted by the Bangladeshi researchers on development journalism practice, those studies include: origin and conceptual definition of development journalism, interviews with journalists and quantity of development journalism in newspapers, no research were found on qualitative analysis of development journalism practice.

Among those studies, some studies focused on the origin and conceptual definitions of development journalism, as Lipon (1999) and Rahman (1995). According to Lipon, development news includes peoples' basic needs along with political, economic and human rights or news that determines social and economic indicators for development; economic indicators: income, savings, investment, foreign loan, labor etc., and social indicators: education, women empowerment, family planning etc. He noted that development journalism practice in Bangladesh is revolved around those two thematic social and economic indicators (Lipon,1999). Studies conducted by Press Institute of Bangladesh (1982,1987,1992) and FOCUS (2000) showed important themes of development news like primary education, negative effects of urbanization, family planning, the crisis of power, poverty reduction gained little importance in media (see in Lipon & Akhter, 2002). All those studies found that newspapers mainly practice development journalism among all media.

A study conducted by Rahman (1997) focused on constraints of development journalism practice in Bangladesh and proposed some recommendations. He interviewed several journalists of print media, the interviews revealed that development journalism is not an institutionalised concept and not clearly articulated in the editorial policies of those media. He

also found that development journalism practice was not profitable for the media, as interviewed journalists stated that development news is incapable of selling news like political, entertainment, sports or human interest. Furthermore, news editors implied that covering development news is expensive as by nature development reporting is investigative or interpretative and sometimes needs to follow up. (Rahman, 1997 see in Lipon & Akhter, 2002).

2. Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

In national development, development journalism is considered a model for media participation (Lipon & Akhter, 2002). Discussion on development journalism is most openly and rigidly placed within the methodical theme and concept of development and development communication. Theoretically, the roots of development journalism are related to the progression of development communication.

Here, I discussed concepts and theories of Development and Development Communication and how these ideas and theories connected to development journalism and this study, and the notion of Development Journalism. I also tried to present some selected previous studies on development journalism practice all over the world.

2.1 Development theories

Development is a concept which is difficult to define, and this imprecise way considers many economic and cultural speculations mounting any theory of development. The problem of defining development is revealed by Fair and Shaw (1997) in a meta-analysis of development journalism studies where just one-third of research works conceptualized the understanding of development. Although development studies provide no specific notions, the changing and occasionally inconsistent definitions of development give important apprehension to the development journalism form.

Development communication researchers have tried to define development in a precise way, as Melkote and Steeves (2001, p.33) stated that development is a way of improving social states of a country. C. Quebral (1971) asserted development as the conversion of a nation and its citizens from destitution to a progressive society with economic advancement which offers equality and human dignity for every citizen (p.101). According to Domatob and Hall (1983), development is 'counteracting the dependency relationship of colonization and promoting the supersession of the traditional, tribal-based societies by institutions supporting the new nation-state' (as cited in Kelleher, 2014, p.20). Edeani (1993) described that development is improving rural peoples' socio-economic conditions (p.123).

Thus, development theories postulated in three paradigms (Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Servaes, 2004). Though the formation of each of these paradigms indicates particular historical periods, all three remain pertinent in terms of practice and priority.

‘Modernization paradigm’ is the first paradigm which started just after world war II and lasted till the 1960s. The theory evolved with this paradigmatic period is known as ‘The Modernization or Dominant Theory of Development.’ The Modernization theory was derived from ‘neo-classical economic theory’ which encouraged free market economic advancement (Melkote & Steeves, 2001, p.34). It presumed that Western economic growth model is also relevant to underdeveloped countries in the 20th century, where all societies must go through the same stages to become a modern society (Servaes, 2004, p.57).

The second remarkable moment in the evolution of development theory is the rise of the ‘Dependency paradigm’ and theory of this period is called ‘Dependency Theory.’ Emerging in the post-colonial independence era and lasting well till the 1970s, this theory reflected the expectations of the newly independent countries of the post-colonial period as these nations wanted to dismiss the Western model of development by constructing own social, ethical and self-reliant development strategies (Banda, 2007, p.2). Communication scholars Melkote and Steeves (2001) argued that dependency paradigm is critical as it rejected modernization theory’s cultural and economic ‘expansionism and imperialism’ (p.34). Under this paradigm, for national development, developing nations required to split the discriminative relation with the advanced world and withdraw themselves from the capitalist market and choose an independent development policy (Servaes, 2004, p.58).

The last and contemporary development model is ‘Participatory’ (in other words Empowerment), identified the problems of dominant and dependency as both of them by nature persuasive, this paradigm put importance on multi-directional development process rather than a one-way process. and theory related to this paradigm is known as Participatory or Empowerment theory. It was commonly accepted that theories and practices of development were basically flawed as plans of development process were confiscated by the government or NGOs and controlled by the elites in association with international organizations (White, 2004, p.7). The theory emerged from Paolo Freire’s (1970) concepts of conscientization and liberation, it was built on social consciousness and empowerment which stressed on the grassroot level in the development process instead of capitalist market or government (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Today development is generally defined by the United Nations Development

Program's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) which was officially supported by 189 countries. The MDGs outlined eight development goals:

1. eliminate ultra-poverty and starvation
2. attain comprehensive basic education
3. facilitate gender parity and women empowerment
4. minimize child death rate
5. promote maternal safety
6. alleviate deadly diseases
7. achieve environmental tenability and
8. create an international alliance for development (United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2013, p.60).

The United Nations defined development in its Human Development Index (HDI), although it is interpreted in the Millennium Development Goals. Hence, the definition of development in the HDI is equivalent to the conventional description of the dominant theory, and dimensions of development are homogenized to Western models such as capitalist market and democratic practices (Stevenson, 2004, p.91).

2.2. Development Communication theories

Concept of development communication has emerged in post-world war II when foreign aid agencies, NGOs and academics were trying to figure out the problems of the populations of Africa, Asia and Latin America where people were struggling with poverty, health problems, and lack of knowledge, and political, economic, and social infrastructures (Waisbord, 2001; McPhail, 2009). Thus, it is evolved with the theories of development and societal shift that pointed out the main obstacles of the less developed countries in terms of lack of progression in the post-war period (Waisbord, 2001). Since then, many studies have provided numerous definitions of development communication (Melkote, 1991; Waisbord, 2001; McPhail, 2009; Ngomba, 2011).

Development communication has been commonly arbitrated as an implementation of communication tactics and propositions in the developing nations (Waisbord, 2001, p.1).

According to McPhail, 'development communication is the process of intervening in a systematic or strategic manner with either media (print, radio, telephony, video, and the Internet), or education (training, literacy, schooling) for the purpose of positive social change. The change could be economic, personal, as in spiritual, social, cultural, or political' (McPhail, 2009, p.3). Ngomba (2011, p.7) simply states development communication as the appliance of techniques of communication and propositions for attaining development. Contemporary definitions of development communication contend that main purpose of this communication is to develop living standard of people which involves economic advancement, social justice, freedom of speech and a participatory society (Melkote, 1991, p.229).

Despite the fact that multiple concepts and theories emerged during the last few decades, development communication studies mainly bestowed two different positions for developing nations problems and solutions. One position claimed that Third world countries are underdeveloped due to lack of information, the other argued that the main problem is power inequality, not lack of information. These two positions' argument fell in development communication theories' various models; two of them: Unidirectional and market-oriented communication model and Multidirectional and micro level communication model, unidirectional communication model supports the first group who think information deficit is the main problem and multidirectional related to the latter (Waisbord, 2001, p.2).

I intended to examine the main research question from the above-mentioned development communication models' perspectives. To understand these two models or approaches, here I discussed Modernization and Participatory theories of development communication as Modernization theory concerned to the unidirectional model and multidirectional with the Participatory one.

Modernization Theory of Development Communication

Modernization or Dominant theory dominated the first generation of development communication studies. The theory argued that information deficiency lies beneath development problems, and so could not be solved merely by economic support. Instead, one of the main obstacles to development is the presence of traditional culture in underdeveloped countries. To move into a modern position, these countries need the necessary culture. Conventional culture perceived as the 'bottleneck' that obstructed the adoption of neoteric

approach and viewpoint (Waisbord, 2001, p.3). Hence, it is important to drip contemporary principles and knowledge by the dissemination of media message and the acceptance of new attitudes, work habits, economic models and public policies promoted by the advanced world. Since the problem of Third world countries was information deficit, communication was rendered as an important way that would resolve it (Waisbord, 2001; McPhail, 2009).

Early communication scholars Daniel Lerner (1958) and Wilber Schramm (1964) theorized communication as the dissemination of knowledge or message. Revelation to media technology was a key element that could change traditional attitude into a modern one. Both scholars' interpretation and suggestions 'had a clear pro-media, pro-innovation, and pro-persuasion focus' (Waisbord, 2001, p.3). The importance of the transmission of media message indicated that the progression of a society could be assessed and determined by media infiltration. The quantity and usage of media were considered as a barometer of modern behavior (Inkeles & Smith, 1974 see in Waisbord, 2001, p.4). The United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) statistics illustrated that access to media became a substitute for development. Researchers observed that in countries where citizens had more connection with contemporary media technology, had more positive attitudes to development and modernization (Agunga, 1997 as cited in Waisbord, 2001, p.4).

The 'diffusion of innovations' theorized by Everett Rogers (1962, 1983) was one of the most dominant modernization theories of the modernization paradigm and became the ground plan for communication actions of development. Having appraised over 500 research works in the early 1960s, Rogers constructed five steps in which a person goes through the comprehension process: 'awareness, knowledge and interest, decision, trial, and adoption/rejection' (Rogers 1962 as cited in Waisbord 2001, p.4). Rogers contended that development communication involved a procedure where a concept is conveyed from an initiator or generator to a beneficiary for the purpose of attitude change. Generally, the initiator's intention is to change the receiver's cognition of particular beliefs, transform or convince him/her to accept the new idea or concept as part of lifestyle (*Ibid*).

Communication scholars Schramm, Lerner and Pye all promoted one-way flow or hierarchical model of information, stated 'the hypodermic needle of mass communication effects,' is the effective way for development (Murthy, 2001, p.6; Jacobson 2004, p.69). The hierarchical approach of persuasion model indirectly implied that knowledge and information of

professionals, governments and agencies are right and that local people either unaware of information or have wrong credence. It was observed that top personnel of society as professionals, high officials and foreign experts were implementing development plans and strategies by using mass media to disseminate persuasive development information or messages to the people without assessing the elementary requirements of the masses (Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Waisbord, 2001). That is to say, local people were not included in preparing and transmitting development process; locals often considered as inactive receivers of decisions which made outside their societies.

Modernization theory stressed on economic growth which asserted that to become a developed nation, poor countries must follow five steps of modernization ladder. These are: build a modern society, political stability, economic growth, mass consumption and high GDP rates, and liberal economic model and supportive public policies. To follow these steps a country needs the help of communication technologies and media forms (Rostow, 1960 as cited in McPhail, 2009, p.7). Similarly, Schramm (1964) argued that exposure to media would lead directly to the economic prosperity of undeveloped countries. For instance, in the agricultural sector, new methods were to be introduced successfully to a large number of people through the mass media. Along with economic advancement, modernization theory emphasized on spread democratic concepts and practices. Communication scholars Pye (1963) and others perceived communication process as a key element for a democratic society which is necessary for modernization theory's notion of a democratic nation-state (see in McPhail, 2009, p.8).

Participatory Theory of Development Communication

The contemporary development communication theory is Participatory (in other words Empowerment or Liberation or Emancipation), distinguished the dependency on hegemony in the modernization theory, and focus on multi-directional development communication rather than unidirectional communication process from outside-in. Participatory theory of development communication apprehended a necessary redefinition of the development communication model. Some scholars stated that systematic application of communication media and methods are necessary to increase grassroots peoples' participation in the development process. Other argued that sender-oriented persuasion model should be removed from development communication where the upper class of the society plays the central role of the transmitter of information. They downplayed the role experts, NGOs and external

knowledge while emphasized the centrality of local people and their knowledge and ambitions.

Servaes (1996) asserted, participatory communication theory based on the notion that development activities mainly emerge from the mass concerned. Muniz (2010) defined it as an organized action based on media intended at agitating participatory methods and interpersonal communication to promote conversation among various stakeholders to a collective development goal. Here, participation indicates mass collaboration in communication process 'in terms of production processes, planning and management of communication systems' (Servaes & Malikhaio, 2008 as cited in Solomon, 2014, p.14).

According to this theory, communication is a multidirectional process, completely different from the hierarchical model that placed information in the sphere of professionals or external experts (Waisbord, 2001). Participatory communication recognized the participation of locals, exasperating logical views, and emphasizing procedure instead of consequences related with progression and growth as the crucial responsibility of development communication (Altafin, 1991 see in Waisbord 2001, p.20). This communication thrives on input from people from all walks of life and of every socio-economic sphere. The theory focuses on the rights of all people to be heard, to speak for themselves and not be represented or rewarded by another party. Three arguments exist for this communication: the local people own necessary information regarding their own conditions and are a unique element without that development activities might be unsuccessful; marginalized people have the basic right to participate to the formation of their own development and insertion of those people is able to attract more support which will, in turn, accelerate the implementation of common goals (McPhail, 2009, p.28).

Participatory communication highlights small groups in which marginal people can express analytical view towards the knowledge of his/her identity, group, society by involvement (Waisbord, 2001, p.19). It can help less privileged groups of society to communicate with each other, express their opinions and suggestions in community activities. One of the major contributions of the participatory theory is community empowerment (e.g. micro economic power) in which community members are able to exchange their experiences and evaluate their failures and success. This theory broadened modernization theory's notion of democratic practice which is limited to the voting system, electoral politics and supportive public policies; instead, it stressed on different forms of democratic participation in all stages of societal life (Waisbord, 2001).

Contemporary development journalism scholars argue that journalists should comprehend this communication approach as it is convincing in promoting development for the grassroots people (Servaes, 1996; Banda, 2007; McPhail, 2009; Xiaoge, 2009). Moreover, participatory communication among the state, the media and the people can contribute to democracy, accountability and therefore, development in a country (Christians et al., 2009 as cited in Solomon, 2014, p.15).

In the following section, I have presented the concepts and operationalized definitions of development journalism for this study.

2.3 Concepts and definitions of Development Journalism

Conceptualizing the idea of development journalism is difficult as there is no specific means to define it. Fair (1988) conducted a meta-research on 20 development journalism studies (1967-1986) where he found no agreement in terms of conceptualizing development journalism. Almost half of the studies explored by Fair, lack the conceptual definition of development journalism. Rest of the studies which defined development journalism included 'news which associated to the advancement of collective, economic or socio-political issues,' 'stories that fulfil the requirements of people and supports self-sufficiency,' 'news focused on fundamental, secondary or other necessities of people.' Conversely, operational definitions of this journalism were more diverse: various development issues or themes were considered as development journalism (Fair, 1988, p.169).

Conceptualizing the notion of development journalism refers to assessing journalism practice from behavioral and theoretical aspects. Theoretically, development journalism is heavily backed by the dominant theory of development communication. In this perspective, to modernize themselves, developing nations should acquire knowledge from the West, import advanced media technologies and at same time practice Western behaviors like press freedom and the media should perform its surveillance task (Xiaoge, 2009).

Broadly practiced operational components of development journalism focus on actions rather than plans. Development journalism is promotional news in contrast to the Western negative journalism, was extensively applied as a definitional facet of this form.

Communication scholar Chalkey first conceptualized the term development journalism in 1968, working at the Philippines Press Institute whilst writing for the Economic Writers' Training Manual sponsored by Thomson Foundation. Chalkey states:

'A journalist's main task is to inform, to give his readers the facts. His secondary task is to interpret, to put the facts in their framework, and where possible to draw conclusions...But you have a third task, a positive one. Perhaps the best word for it is 'promotion.' It is your job not only to give the facts of economic life, and to interpret those facts, but to promote them, to bring them home to your readers. You must get your readers to realize how serious the development problem is, to think about the problem, to open their eyes to the possible solutions – to punch a hole in the vicious circle' (as cited in McKay, 1993, p.239).

Edeani (1993) explained the development journalism as a form of reporting that emphasizes on development plans and activities which are involved in the betterment of general people. He further noted, this journalism should be analytical and informative, and dedicated to the advancement of the society. This form of practice is different from the Western reporting style which is based on the impartiality (p.126). Hence, development journalism did not dismiss the neutral behavior of journalism rather stressed on social obligation for the support to the development process.

Aforementioned definitions have modified with the transition of different theories and practices of development and development communication. Therefore, the definitions of development journalism have changed over the time; for instance, Musa and Domatob (2007) found development journalism prejudiced to media role as well as journalists' responsibility in a given society and this indicates such responsibility will be constantly changed in different contexts (p.316). Their exploration on this reporting practice concentrated on the post-colonial period which was behaviorally different from Western journalism practice. Development journalists were perceived as civic rights promoters, truth tellers, investigative inspectors and economic liberators. Since they were recognized as neutral and truth teller, they must adopt 'both a relativist and teleological' moral strategy which gives importance on social responsibility (*Ibid*, p.321).

Recently, scholars and researchers of development journalism trying to operationalize development journalism in a more diverse way as Djokotoe (2013) proposed 10 recommendations for development news reporters: 1. widen the development articles 2. make

the news more humane 3. concentrate on grassroots 4. seek for particular aspects 5. ground reporting 6. clarify topics 7. omit technical words 8. apply numerical data precisely 9. news follows up, and 10. read extensively. An Indian guidebook for practicing development journalism delivered such guidance for practice and style: observing government activities, exposing social wrongdoings, encouraging grassroots empowerment, using the rights of freedom of expression (Bhattacharja, 2005). These guides implied that the participatory approach of communication gained access to development journalism at the beginning of the 1990s (Gunaratne, 1996 see in Tshabangu, 2013, p.314).

In broader South-Asian context, development journalism reflects features of modernization and participatory theories and foreground for development and democratic practices. However, any methodical exploration of the situation of South-Asian media would illustrate South-Asian nations are attempting to create nation-state which resembles with modernization model of development (Lipon, 1999).

This study intended to examine newspapers of Bangladesh reflect which development communication theory in their development journalism practice, whether its modernization or participatory or both. To do so, here I used Vilanilam (1979) and Xiaoge's (2009) operationalized definitions of development journalism in the context of both modernization and participatory theories of development communication.

Development journalism researcher Vilnailam's definition of development news is often used in the development journalism studies as an operationalized definition. According to him:

'News relating to the primary, secondary, and tertiary needs of a developing country. Primary needs are food, clothing, and shelter. Secondary needs are the development of agriculture, industry and all economic activity, which lead to the fulfilment of the primary needs, plus the development of education, literacy, health, environment, medical research, family planning, employment, labour welfare, social reforms, national integration and rural and urban development. Tertiary needs are the development of mass media, transport, tourism, telecommunication, arts and cultural activities' (Vilanilam, 1979, p.34).

Vilanilam's definition of development journalism was influenced by modernization theory which stressed on a nation-building perspective. It promotes that journalism should be aimed at creating social consensus, sustaining national stability and strengthening the economy. It

also indicates news reports' focus should be on the solution rather than sensation (Ali, 1994 as cited in Xiaoge, 2009, p.12).

Acknowledging the significance of development journalism and considering on its different challenges, contemporary communication scholars promoted the participatory communication approach in development journalism (Musa & Domatob, 2007; Servaes, 1996; Xiaoge, 2009). According to Xiaoge (2009), development journalism should not concentrate on the elite but on the masses. He states:

'the term "ordinary people" refers to farmers, women, children, the elderly, the less fortunate, etc. It is these people that development journalists care most about. Moreover, these people determine the development journalists' choice of subjects, style of storytelling, and even diction. The whole point of development journalism is to engage and empower the people and to involve them actively in the process of economic, cultural and political development' (p.13).

In the context of this definition, it is general citizens' duty to engage in the development activities, rather than being inactive receivers or audiences. Two aspects, pro-process and pro-participation are the main features of the participatory theory which are also roots of development journalism (Xiaoge, 2009). Those points resemble other development journalism scholars who have also promoted for participating and allowing mass people at all stages in the process of development. (Servaes, 1996; Melkote & Steeves, 2001).

Below I discussed some selected quantitative research works on development journalism as most of the development journalism studies are related to quantitative analysis.

2.4 Selected research on Development journalism

In spite of four-decades-long exercise in Africa, Asia and Latin America, very few academic studies were found which are related to development journalism. Only 34 articles were found in academic journals until June 2007. Among those articles, some focused on what comprises development news (e.g. Ogan, Fair & Shah, 1984; Mckay, 1993), some studies investigated the quantity of development journalism (e.g. Mustapha,1979; Supto,1983) while other studies examined conceptual issues, ethics and characteristics of development journalism [e.g. Chalkey,1980; Gunaratne,1996; Shah,1996; Romano, 1998,1999; Romano & Hippocrates,

2001; Isiaka, 2006] (see in Xiaoge, 2009, p.20).

Early research works of development journalism reflected features of the modernization theory of development communication. Researchers predicted that media to convey effective development knowledge and dissemination of media information would undoubtedly build modern attitude in underdeveloped regions (Melkote & Steeves, 2001, p.218). This speculation toward giving importance to quantitative development journalism existed in studies which are asserted by the frequency of content analysis that measured the dominance of development news in the media. Although most studies in development journalism retained a prediction of strong media effects theory, development communication theory and development theory rejected the belief of direct practical influence of media.

A well-established research work that was known for assessing development news is Vilanilam's (1979) study. He conducted the study on four newspapers of India and categorized development news into 14 themes, and separated development news from promotional news of the government and political news. For instance, in development news, the government was present in the category of 'administrative reforms' that encouraged development by the repudiation of administrative corruption, initiation of accountability which can build a good connection with the citizens and the government. On the other hand, news topics like international relations, panels, project launch, and meetings were included in the government news category, and topics as party politics, poll considered political news. Vilanilam observed that all the papers allocated more space to government and political news than development news (constituted only 15 percent). He outlined that little importance to development journalism is the indication that those papers' journalists, editors and stakeholders had little understanding regarding the important duty of mass media in emerging nations (Vilanilam, 1979, p.35).

During the 1980s, the dominance of news actors or sources has begun to gain preference in development news. McDaniel (1986) conducted a study in Pakistan and Malaysia on electronic media's particularly television's development journalism practice where he examined sources presented in development news. He found an astoundingly huge percentage of development content in television news, almost 30 percent, and bureaucrats and political people were dominating the sources of the news (McDaniel, 1986, p.168). He concluded that the government was using development as a channel to boost government activities and

development programs.

A news service named Press Foundation of Asia conducted a study (1993) on development journalism to know the depth of the news. In that study, to determine the depth level of the development news, McKay explored the dominance of operational themes (health, population, environment, women empowerment, etc.) and sources and actors of the news. He observed a 'distinctly practical bent' to development reporting and found that 60 percent of news articles might not be considered as development news. Majority of the sources and actors of those news stories were state officials or experts, the local opinion leaders comprised 9 percent and 18 percent of informants considered general people, implying a low participatory stance (McKay, 1993, p.237).

In 2001, Murthy conducted a content analysis of four newspapers of India (two English, two Telegu), more than 20 years after Vilanilam's research of Indian print media, to know if a language had any influence on development journalism practice. He coded development news articles into 12 topics and found that the frequency of development news was insignificant in those examined papers, holding only 4 to 8 percent of total news content. He also noted that Telegu newspapers dedicated a large portion of coverage to local development news compared to English daily which preferred national development stories. He concluded that the absence of investigative nature and critical attitude made development news insubstantial and stories were 'pro-event rather pro-process' by nature (Murthy, 2001, p.104). Haque (1986) equivalently asserted even though journalists of India have participated in discussions of development journalism's influence, yet they are practicing the conventional Western journalism model (p.84).

Tshabangu's (2013) recent study of development journalism in Zimbabwe interviewed journalists along with conducting the content analysis. He pointed out that Zimbabwean journalists lack general knowledge of concepts and ethics of development journalism and state officials comprised 50 percent of news sources, whereas only 5 percent actors were ordinary people which implied little effort to the participatory approach.

Above mentioned development journalism concepts and studies illustrate development journalism practice to be a model of inconsistent and contradictory imperatives. Development journalism encourages government-run development activities, acts as a watchdog over the

same government, inspires broad national integrity and prosperity and encourages market economy; at the same time also inspires individual empowerment, participation and micro-economy. It is presumed that development journalism is a crucial part of communication for development, but development journalism is still partially understood and needs more discussion in the particular economic, cultural and political context in which they happen.

3. Methodology and Data

3.1 Design of the research

This research intended to examine the questions: ‘How is development, a fundamental issue in developing countries like Bangladesh, conveyed in the newspapers of Bangladesh?’ (Q1). To answer the main question, I devised the subsequent questions: ‘What is the extent of coverage of development news in those newspapers in compare with other news?’ (Q2). ‘Which development news topics are most often published in three newspapers and is there a difference among those papers in terms of covering development topics? Do those development themes match development goals stated by the Bangladesh government’s development plan? (Q3).

Before explaining the methodology and data collection process of my study, first, I have presented key procedures of this research. This study is on the basis of concepts of development communication which assume that media can play a role in mobilizing the development of a country. According to McPhail (2009), development communication is the way of involving in a structured method with any of mass media for fundamental social change. The change could happen in personal, collective, political, cultural and economic stages (p.3). Here, I examined my research questions from the perspective of two main theories of development communication: Modernization theory and Participatory theory. Modernization theory suggests that media-centered persuasion activities could improve a country into a modern one. Conversely, participatory theory stressed on efficient usage of communication media and methods to expand grassroots involvement in the development process and to appraise, inspire and persuade them (Waisbord, 2001, McPhail, 2009). In my analysis, I tried to find out in what way media presented the development process, whether in the persuasive way or participatory or both.

The intention of this study was to look extensively on the practicing or representative nature of development journalism, so both qualitative and quantitative content analysis was implemented, and the frame analysis was used for the qualitative part. Thus, this research is based on content analysis of three Bangladeshi national newspapers, one English and two Bengali: The Daily Star, Prothom Alo, Jugantor. Here, I am discussing why I chose print media.

The print media have distinguished trait, which led me to differentiate them from others. To share information and transmit knowledge, the print media have a great contribution (Patil, 2011, p.2). Although radio, television and online media have a striking number of audiences, I have decided to select the print media because it is considered one of the most credible means of the interpersonal communication as well as universal (Gurevich, 2004). Researchers contended that print media have the ability to construct personal and popular opinion as well as shaping the minds of the readers (Gurevich, 2004; Patil, 2011). The print media is an accessible source of information to the people of any society and to access it any device is not necessary. Furthermore, unlike other media, where news can be read at any time or postponed.

With the advancement of technology, the recent pattern of the newspaper becoming increasingly resilient. The online version of print media now saving papers and distribution costs and becoming more approachable to people (Patil, 2011). My research paper focuses on the print media specifically newspapers (e-version of three newspapers which are equivalent to print version) as they have extensive database and circulation.

3.2 Data collection

The analysis chapter contains two sections, the first one discussed the outcomes of the quantitative approach and the latter explained the results of the qualitative part. In the quantitative section, I attempted to illustrate quantitative data of development news of three papers of the year January 2018 to June 2018 and the latter part is about qualitative analysis. This year was chosen because it gives the opportunity to work with the most recent news stories in the contemporary Bangladeshi media context, probably that made my final conclusions more convincing.

The study is concerned with the representation of development journalism on three national newspapers of Bangladesh. For that reason, three newspapers' six months' news editions were chosen for content analysis from 93 national newspapers of Bangladesh. I have chosen these three newspapers because of two reasons: these papers are highly influential and very popular in the country, and these are different in terms of language, two of them are Bengali and the other one is English. Exploring development news from different languages' readers perspective and figure out the Bangladeshi print media's approach to the development news

issue was fascinating.

To conduct this study, content analysis was chosen. In content analysis, it is necessary to select a convenient sampling formula to generate credible outcomes (Krippendorff, 1980). If a preferential or small number sample of the population is applied, data will be questionable. Hence, selecting many samples may prove a redundant waste of materials (Riffe, Aust & Lacy, 1993, p.133). In this study, to avoid those inconvenience, constructed-week sampling was chosen.

‘Constructed-week sampling is a type of stratified random sampling (SRS) technique popular in media studies in which the final sample represents all seven days of the week to account for the cyclic variation of news content’ (Luke, Caburnay, & Cohen, 2011, p.78). For instance, to determine a single week constructed sampling from a one-month population, one would select one Saturday from all four Saturdays, one Tuesday from all Tuesdays etc. from that month until every single day of the week appeared in the final sample. Generally, the aim of this sampling is to generate the highest sampling representation while regulating identical biases (e.g. weekly same story pattern). Several studies (e.g. Riffe et al., 1993; Lacy, Riffe & Randle, 1998; Lacy, Riffe, Stoddard, Martin & Chang, 2001; Riffe, lacy & Fico, 2005) have experimented to single out the number of weeks required for efficient constructed week sampling for diverse media platforms and population size (see in Luke et al., 2011, p.79).

Stempel (1951) carried out a study of front-page photographs on Wisconsin newspapers, he found that results generated by two-constructed weeks statistically enough to represent the population of a year (see in Riffe et al., 1993, pp.134-135). In a study of newspaper’s local news, Riffe et al. (1993) examined the comparative and conclusive value of simple random, consecutive day and constructed week sampling of six months’ population. They observed that a single constructed week sampling was statistically better than 14 and 21 days simple random sampling, and all 14, 21 and 28-days consecutive day sampling of the population. For their six-months’ population, they asserted ‘one constructed week was as efficient as four’ which is consistent with Stempel’s findings of two constructed weeks that is enough to represent a year (p.139).

Hence, in this study, a single constructed week sampling was drawn for six months’ population (January 2018 to June 2018) using the online random number generator which selected 21

editions of three papers (7 editions per paper). The unit of analysis was news articles, and editorial and opinion. Here, I mention both content type as ‘story’ and all news stories were coded from the chosen 21 editions of those papers. A total of 2460 news articles were found from 21 editions of three newspapers (see lists of 21 editions at Annex 2). Features and special supplements were excluded from this study (features normally do not contain any serious news and supplements publish on special days or occasions). Additional help was taken from various existing content analysis codebooks which are available to support the analysis of the written text.

To answer (Q2), three newspapers’ stories were coded into four sections: 1) Development news 2) Non-development news 3) International news 4) Sports and Entertainment news. The reason for categorising news stories into four was based on certain reasons. The non-development category was formed to see the amount of preference development news get within the total national news. International news category was formed to separate national news from overseas news and see the extent of coverage they get in comparison to development news. Sports and Entertainment news categories were formed to examine whether entertainment news gets preference to Bangladeshi media over development news. Total numbers of news stories were calculated to see the frequency of development news in those papers. The subsequent question explored the particular features of development news categories.

Three rationales positioned at the centre of (Q3). The first was to find out which specific development topics were mostly covered by the journalists of those papers. The second identified the difference of coverage in those papers in terms of development news categories and third was to examine whether development news categories presented on those papers matched development priorities expressed by Bangladesh government’s development plan. I found categorizing development news stories quite challenging as development news is comprehensive, it can exist in other conventional news categories: politics, business even arts and entertainment, and sports news (Pelz, 2010). Hence, a total of 13 development themes were encoded for this question and these themes are based on the prior research works, particularly Vilanilam’s (1979) study as well as McKay (1993), Murthy (2001), and slightly modified to suitably reflex the Bangladesh government’s development goals and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The 13 topics were coded for this study included: 1. Good governance and Administrative reforms 2. Agriculture 3. Trade and Business 4. Education 5. Healthcare and Sanitation 6. Housing 7. Energy and Infrastructure 8. Poverty

reduction and Labour rights 9. Science and Communication technology 10. Environmental Sustainability 11. Gender equality and Women empowerment 12. Ethnic and Minority rights 13. Other (See detail in Annex 1).

Reliability

‘To make valid inferences from the text, it is important that the classification procedure be reliable in the sense of being consistent: different people should code the same text in the same way’ (Weber, 1990, p.12). Weber also stated, reliability generally required to minimize the problems such as vagueness of meanings of texts, definitions of elements or coding manners (*Ibid*, p.15).

To make a valid inference from the text, Cohen’s Kappa was used in this study. In Kappa computing, the proportion of agreement ranges from 0.00 to 1.00 in which 1.00 addresses as absolutely credible agreement and 0.00 demonstrate when there is no agreement between the coders ‘other than what would be expected by chance’ (Haney, Russell, Gulek & Fierros, 1998 as cited in Stemler, 2001, p.5). Kappa is calculated as,

$$K = P_A - P_C / 1 - P_C$$

Where ‘ P_A = proportion of units on which the raters agree

P_C = proportion of units for which agreement is expected by chance’ (Stemler, 2001, p.5)

Kvalseth (1989) contended that a Kappa that demonstrates 0.61, states feasibly good agreement (as cited in Stemler, 2001, p.6). However, Landis and Koch (1977) have stated that 0.61- 0.80 are substantial agreement and 0.81- 1.00 almost perfect agreement for Kappa statistic (as cited in *Ibid*, pp.6-7).

In this study, two coders including the researcher of the study, examined and analysed on a 10 percent sample of the total news population and yielded Cohen’s Kappa of .84 which indicates almost perfect agreement.

3.3 Data analysis methods

For data analysis, I applied the quantitative and qualitative content analysis to examine the newspapers content. Lasswell, Lerner & Pool (1952) described content analysis as an unbiased and explicit method for illustrating the issue of communication (p.18). Shoemaker and Reese (1996, p.31) refer that media content is a complicated element that comprises an extensive range of texts, information and sources. They contend that content analysis is the collection process of those components to disclose the main aspects of the subject that execute some interpretations. One can explore a wide range of texts from a transcript of interviews, discussions, electronic media programs and print media content by using quantitative or qualitative content analysis (Macnamara, 2005, p.1).

In this research, quantitative content analysis was chosen as it permits to investigate the frequency of most significant themes covered by the media. It is ‘an objective, systematic and quantitative description of the media content’ (Berelson, 1952, p.18). Berger stated it a research procedure for measuring any materials (Berger, 1991, p.25). Titscher, Meyer, Wodak and Vetteret (2000) asserted that for contextual exploration, quantitative approach is one of the most convenient and progressive techniques as well as reasonable way for the methodical monitoring of massive information flow.

Using the quantitative method, a researcher is able to condense the outcome in a numerical way. For instance, by applying quantitative analysis, I examined the development news articles published in a six-months’ period of 2018. Therefore, I explored 2460 news stories to examine the percentage of development news published in those print media and the key development themes and reflection of those themes in three papers. Furthermore, the figures are presented through the table format along with graphs which demonstrated comparison.

The qualitative analysis is used concurrently with the quantitative approach within my study. Neuman (1997) characterized the qualitative content analysis as ‘non-intrusive’ study method. He focused on the significance of the qualitative approach in terms of assembling and exploring the meaning of the texts (pp. 272-273). In the same way, Mayring (2000) defined the method as ‘an approach of empirical and controlled analysis of texts without rash quantification within the media discourse’ (p.23). Schreier contends that to explain the substance of qualitative data or information, the qualitative approach is used in content analysis (2012, p.8). A researcher

can summarize the outcomes by selecting the data or facts from the print media through sorting particular stories or articles into categories. Hsieh and Shanon (2005:12) contended that qualitative analysis is the best way for subjective perception of specific themes and styles of media content. In other words, the qualitative approach is suitable where data needs interpretations (Schreier, 2012). Zhang and Wildenmuth (2009) reflected the same notion that the objective of the qualitative approach is to determine relevant categories involving several messages with a justification to illustrate social context. By applying the qualitative approach, I explored the features of the chosen news content, texts, different angles of the stories and headlines; I also inspected viewpoints of the reporters and of those papers.

Taking all those facts into mind, the combined approach was applied in this research. Many researchers endorse that the notion of implementing both quantitative and qualitative techniques into content analysis and assert this idea as triangulation which means the application of a mixed approach. Some incorporate different methods to get comprehensive knowledge of the study topic. To integrate various types of data, the notion of triangulation became popular to many academics. Therefore, in research process terms like convergence, integration and multi-method have become essential (Crewell, 2002). According to Shoemaker and Reese (1996), a mixed method like quantitative and qualitative analysis can make research to a greater extent more rational and extensive. They state that it is important to exert contextual codes to get the whole picture of a specific theme or issue (p.31). Newbold, Boyd-Barett and Bulck (2002:84) also support applying mixed approach; they contend that even though quantitative content analysis is able to find the substance of media content, it is not able to present the profound meanings of the texts. Hence, a qualitative method is needed to explore meaning.

Thus, in this study frame analysis was applied in qualitative approach which indicates a specific way of interpretation of media message. In communication studies, frame analysis could be used when content analysis combined qualitative and quantitative methods (Neuendorf, 2002). Frame analysis explores how the receiver or audience comprehend specific messages or information. Before going to the detailed discussion of frame analysis it is relevant to mention that in a communication process frames act a role in at least four positions (Entman, 1993). Entman stated that these positions are sender or communicator, text, receiver or reader, and culture. Communicator (text author) constructs frame conception and use according to his/her personal conviction. The text comprises the substantive frames. These frames applied by the

communicator either able to comprehend or not able to comprehend by the receiver. Lastly, the culture is described as pragmatically verifiable set that is presented in the text (Entman, 1993, pp.52-53). In accordance with this classification, frame analysis appears within the culture. Media research is the part of this culture, in which it tries to comprehend this correlation to interpret it to the public, other associates with the culture. He further stated that in texts, frames could be traced 'by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgements' (*Ibid*, p.52).

Thus, any text holds two features: one is message and the other one is a frame that illustrates how the content needs to be explained. Watzlawick, Beavin and Jackson (1967) asserted 'such communication on communication helps the receiver to structure and define reality' (as cited in Janssen, 2010, p. 21). In media research, researchers attempt to demonstrate the frames which are used to the message by the communicator or author of the text. After exploring particular frames, they able to decide how and what communicator wanted to convey and what was his/her intention for doing so. Bateson (1972) contends that a frame defines the correlation of different components in a discourse, recognizing this interconnection can help to comprehend the meaning hidden in the discourse. According to Laws and Rein (2003, p.174), frames can translate an ambiguous position. Ryan (1991) notes that frame analysis is more complicated and laborious than other forms of communication research. Thus, it is a meaningful approach to understand the media message and its representation in this study.

Development journalism has been long a practiced tradition in Bangladeshi print media although their proportion is insignificant. However, it gained little scholarly attention especially in recent time, and most of the studies are related to origin, conceptual idea and quantity of development journalism. Hence, this study tried to focus on the qualitative aspects of development journalism along with a quantitative approach. (Q1) examined how development journalism was represented in Bangladeshi media - is it reflecting the modernization theory of development communication model or the participatory theory of development communication or reflecting a combined model.

Having perused the development news articles published in the above mentioned three Bangladeshi newspapers, I formed two frames: 1) Unidirectional and market-oriented development communication model of the development news 2) Multidirectional and micro

level development communication model of the development news stories.

Unidirectional and market-oriented development communication model associated with the modernization theory of development communication. It suggests that media-centered persuasion activities could improve a country into a modern one (Schramm, 1964 as cited in Waisbord, 2001, p.3). From the diffusion aspect, it is a vertical way in which the transmitter transmits the message by media forms to receivers. In this approach, high officials, professionals and practitioners play a central role as a transmitter of the information who would enlighten population in a development project (Waisbord, 2001). It also stressed on economic advancement which contended that to become an advanced society a country needs to achieve political stability, sustain economic growth, high rates of GDPs, liberal economic model and supportive public policies (Rostow, 1960 as cited in McPhail, 2009, p.7) and this can be achieved by effective communication through the mass media.

Specifically, this frame explored the news which presented the unidirectional nature of transmission of information as well as promotes Western model development, democratic practices, and capitalist economy and these are main semantic part of this frame.

Conversely, multidirectional and micro level development communication model or approach related to participatory theory. This communication model stressed on efficient usage of communication media and methods to grassroots involvement in the development process. Participatory communication model removed government officials, professionals and experts from the persuasive role who would promote their opinion to general people about the development activities. It restrained the influence of hierarchical source in terms of transmission information in development while accentuating the centrality of local wisdom and aspiration. According to this approach, communication is a horizontal process which is diametrically different from the vertical model of modern experts. Participatory model stressed on community empowerment and all forms of participation in a democratic sphere, not just electoral politics and voting system (Waisbord, 2001; McPhail, 2009).

3.4 Validity and Ethics

The validity of content analysis is attained by the comprehensive perception of the research aim, basic reading of a subsection of related content, and methodical assortment of the media

content sample which is going to be analyzed (Macnamara, 2005, pp.12-13). According to Newbold et al. (2002), sampling for media content analysis comprises three steps:

1. Preference of media type (e.g. television, papers, radio, periodicals) and genre (talk show, contemporary affairs, news, advertisements, documentary, serials);
2. Selection of editions or publications (the time);
3. Specimen of suitable materials or elements from those media (pp. 80-81).

In my research project, I explored the development news published on the of three Bangladeshi newspapers (e-paper). For that reason, three leading and most popular newspapers were chosen from 93 national newspapers. The papers differ from each other not only structurally but also linguistically. According to their policy, they present distinct inclination towards different matters. While the Bangladeshi media field is not restricted to the above mentioned three papers, the outcomes of this study cannot be assessed comprehensive still they are convincing and important enough.

Selection (the period) of the newspapers' edition was based on the most contemporary development data and journalism content available.

To ensure the trustworthiness, the sample should be taken in an unbiased way so that reliability problem can be minimized (Macnamara, 2005, p.13). For sampling, single constructed-week sampling was chosen for this study and a 10 percent sample of the total population was tested and found Cohen's Kappa of .84 agreement which indicates almost perfect agreement.

Moreover, I focused mostly on journalistic texts in my research. To avoid vagueness, I used only the official sites of the newspapers and my data do not pose any major concern because I worked mainly with such content that is officially disclosed. Additional information was gathered from books, academic journals, thesis papers and newspapers' websites, government sites, different international and national organizations' websites.

4. Analysis

The analysis chapter consists of two sections, here I studied the collected data through quantitative and qualitative content analysis. In the quantitative part, I explored the number and percentage of development news articles published in three Bangladeshi national newspapers from January 2018 to June 2018. To better demonstrate my outcomes, I attempted to display them in the form of graphs. Besides this, I examined which development issues or themes got priority in the Bangladeshi print media. In other words, I have constructed 13 development news topics and explored which were the most covered topics. In the context of the qualitative approach, I analyzed the representative nature of Bangladeshi print media towards the development news. This extensive analysis is intended to illustrate the nature of the Bangladeshi newspapers to the development news representation.

4.1 Quantitative analysis

In this quantitative part, to answer the main question of this study which is concerned with the representative nature of the development news stories in the Bangladeshi newspapers, first, I have conducted the quantitative analysis. I tried to figure out the percentage of development news articles published in January 2018 to June 2018. I also examined frequencies with which development news topics appeared in those papers. A total of 2460 news articles were found from 21 editions of The Daily Star, Prothom Alo and Jugantor.

In the following sections, I discussed the outcomes of the research questions two and three.

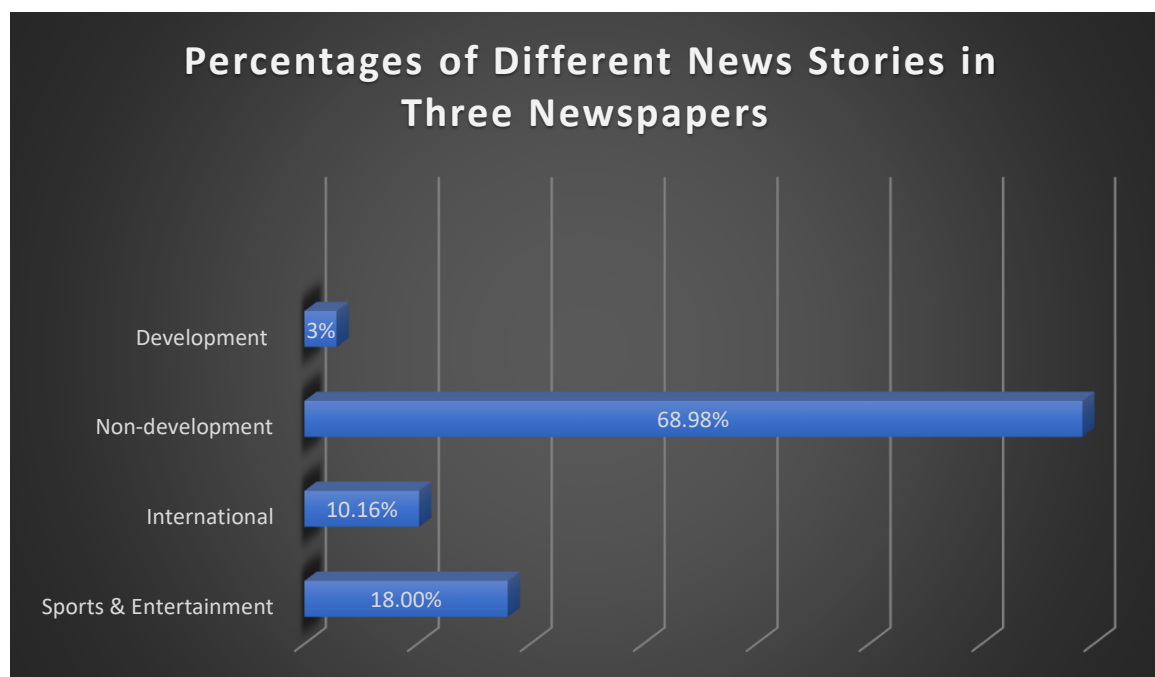
4.1.1 Extent of development new stories

Research question 2 examined the extent of coverage of development news in three papers and compared the frequencies with those papers. As shown in chart 1, for total numbers of three papers combined, only 70 articles were related to development issues out of total 2460 news stories; development news accounts for only 2.85 percent of total news coverage and was the least preferable of those news categories.

Table 1: Total number and percentage of different news articles published in three papers

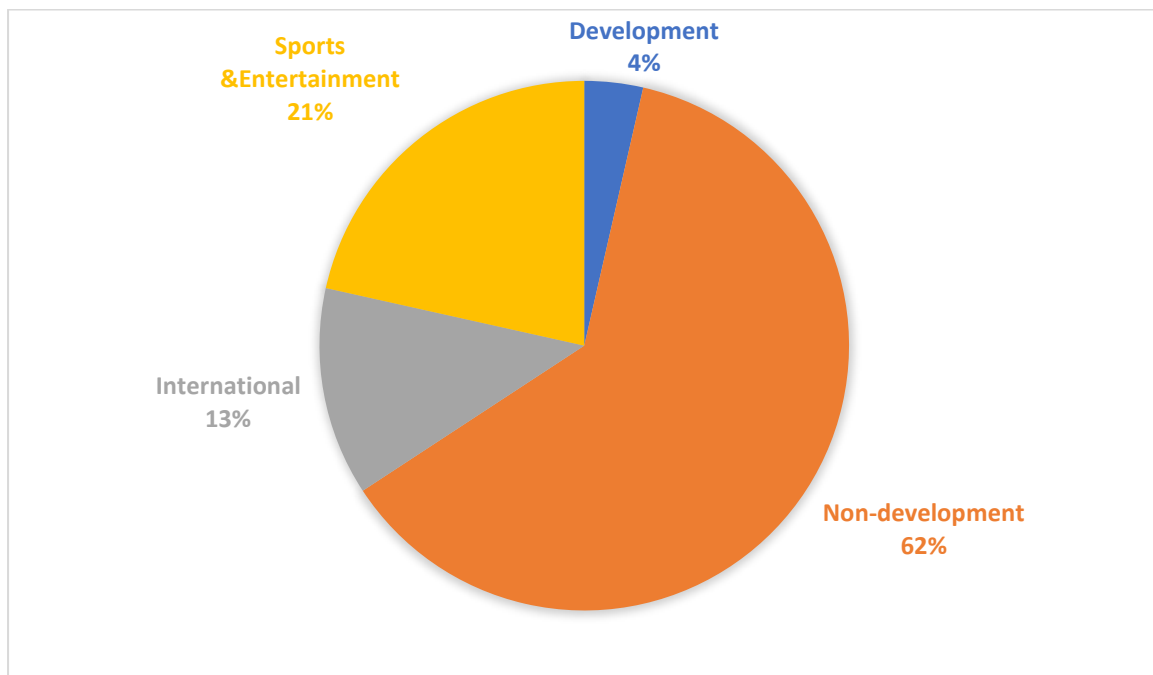
<i>News type</i>	<i>The Daily Star</i>	<i>Prothom Alo</i>	<i>Jugantor</i>	<i>Total</i>
Development	20 3.58%	27 3.35%	23 2.10%	70 2.85%
Non-development	347 62.19%	477 59.11%	873 79.73%	1697 68.98%
International	71 12.72%	116 14.37%	63 5.75%	250 10.16%
Sports & Entertainment	120 21.51%	187 23.17%	136 12.42%	443 18%
Total	558	807	1095	2460

Graph 1: Percentages of different news articles in three papers

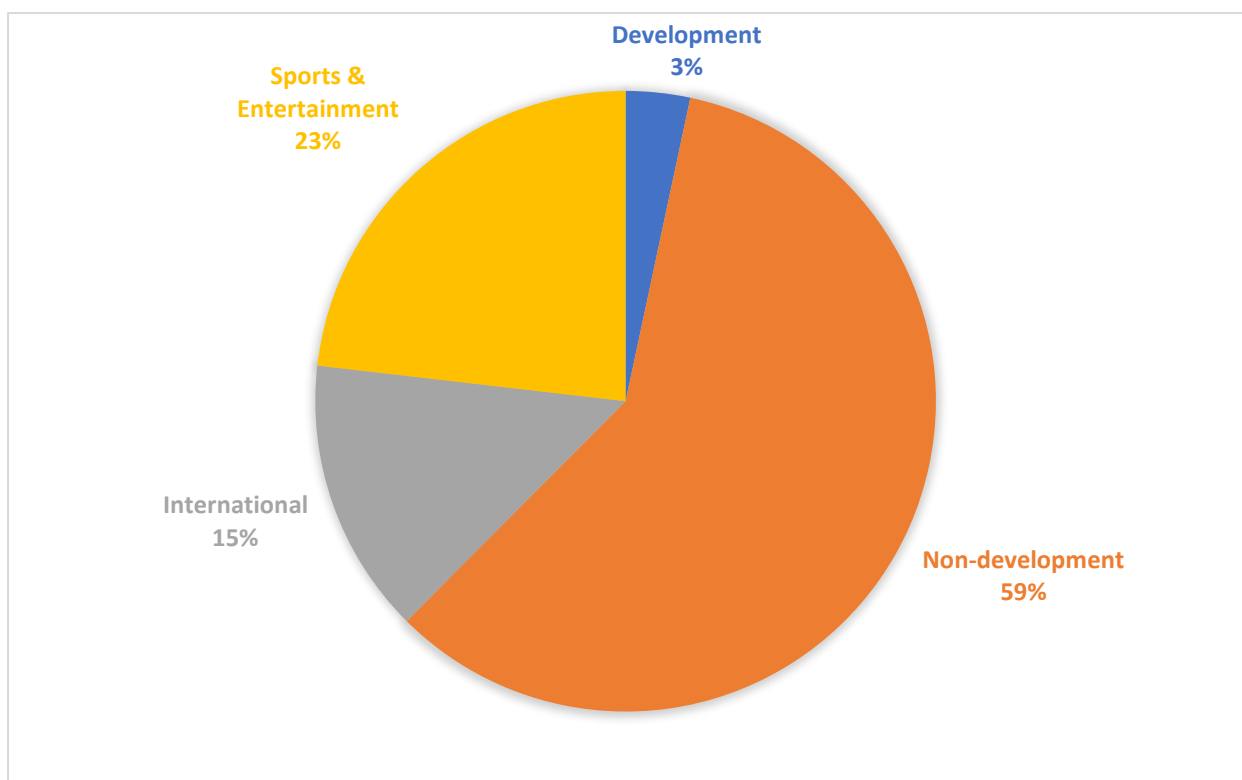


When development news was compared with three papers, there was a slight difference between The Daily Star (3.58%) and Prothom Alo (3.35%), Jugantor published less development news (2.10%) compared to those two papers.

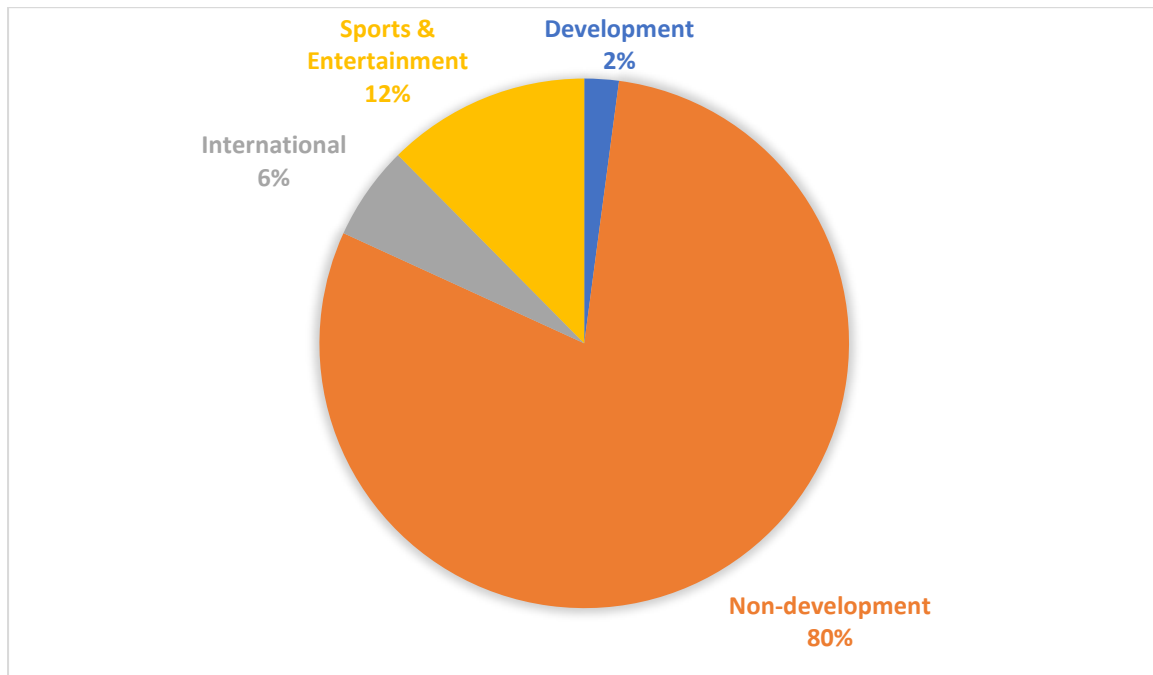
Graph 2: Percentages of different news stories in The Daily Star



Graph 3: Percentages of different news stories in Prothom Alo



Graph 4: Percentages of different news stories in Jugantor



However, for three papers combinedly, non-development national news predictably had the top position with 69 percent; 62 percent for The Daily Star, 59 percent for Prothom Alo, and Jugantor published the highest number of non-development national news, almost 80 percent.

International news accounts for 10 percent of total news stories which was relatively less than the frequency of sports and entertainment news (18%). Among these three papers, Prothom Alo comparatively gave more importance to international (14.37%), and sports and entertainment news (23.17%). On the other hand, international news got less attention to the journalists of The Daily Star (12.72%) and Jugantor (5.75%) than that of sports and entertainment, 21.51 percent for The Daily Star and 12.42 percent for Jugantor respectively.

Hence, it can be said that development news was the least preferable item to the journalists of these newspapers. After non-development national news, sports and entertainment news was most preferable to them which indicates journalists of the Bangladeshi media have little interest in covering development issues.

4.1.2 Overview of development news topics

Research question 3 explored 13 development themes to identify which specific topics were mostly covered by the journalists of three papers and the difference between the three newspapers in terms of categories dominating the development news stories. It also examined those themes to see whether they match development priorities expressed by the Bangladesh government's development plan goals.

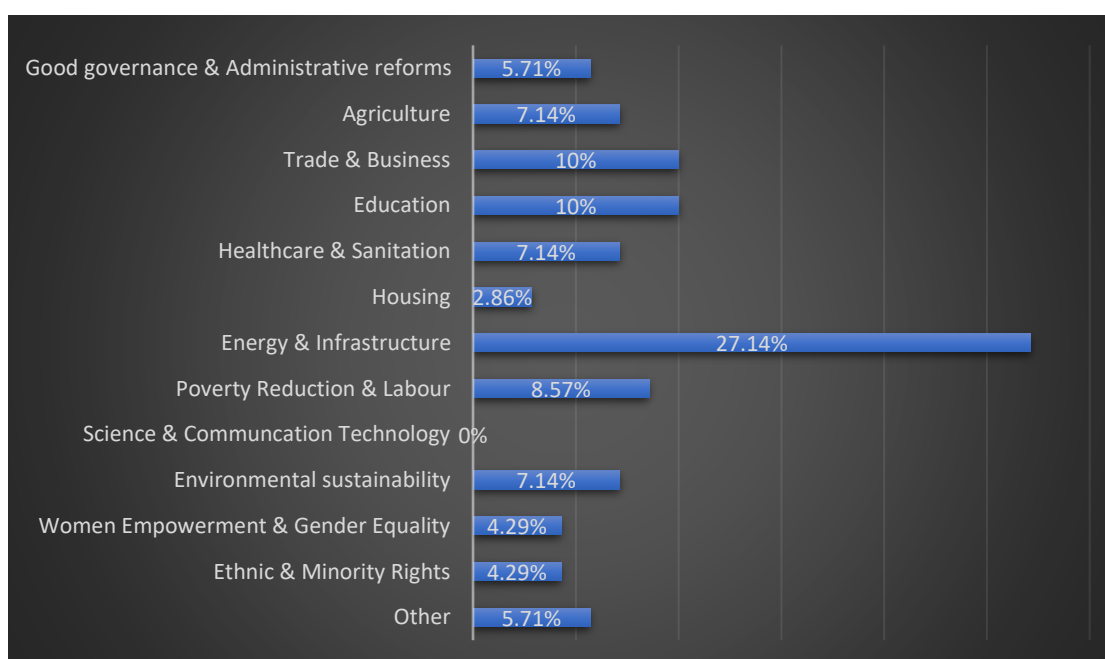
Hence, question 3 investigated the development themes in the articles and those themes are based on the development priorities of Bangladesh government expressed in Vision 2021, The United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and on previous development journalism studies including Vlianiam (1979), Mckay (1993) and Murthy (2001).

Table 2: Number and Percentages of development news topics in three newspapers

Topic	The Daily Star	Prothom Alo	Jugantor	Total
1. Good Governance & Administrative Reforms	1 5%	3 11.11%	0 0%	4 5.71%
2. Agriculture	3 15%	2 7.41%	0 0%	5 7.14%
3. Trade & Business	2 10%	3 11.11%	2 8.70%	7 10%
4. Education	2 10%	4 14.81%	1 4.35%	7 10%
5. Healthcare & Sanitation	1 5%	4 14.81%	0 0%	5 7.14%
6. Housing	0 0%	1 3.7%	1 4.35%	2 2.86%

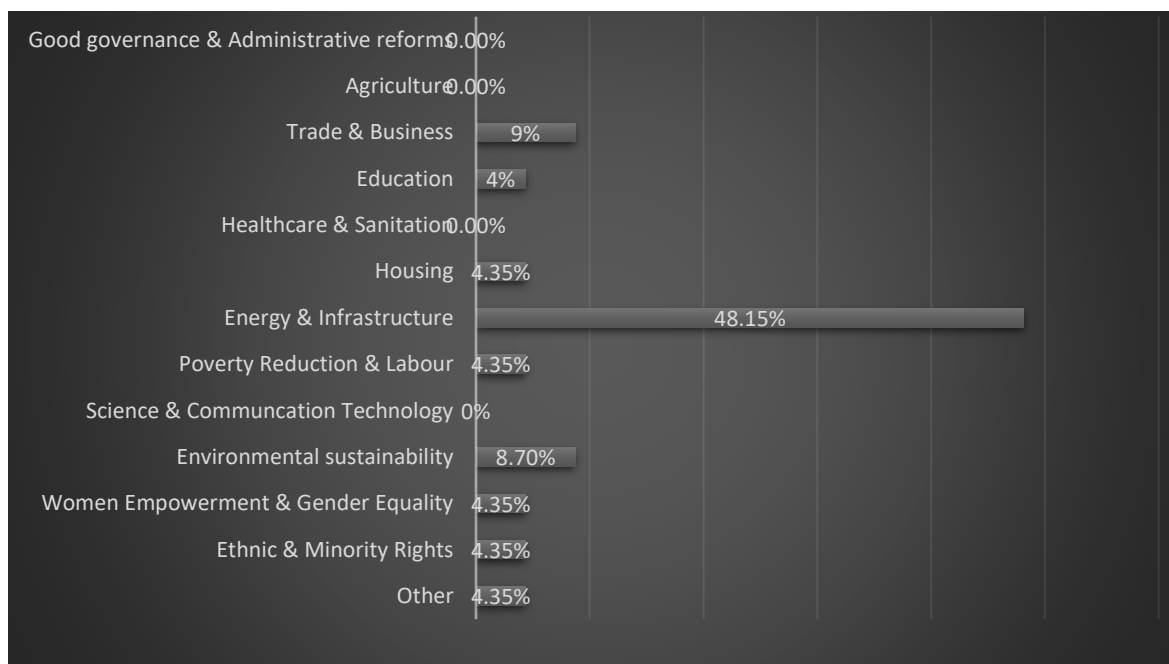
7. Energy & Infrastructure	3 15%	3 11.11%	13 48.15%	19 27.14%
8. Labour & Poverty Reduction	3 15%	2 7.41%	1 4.35%	6 8.57%
9. Science & Communication Technology	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
10. Environmental Sustainability	2 10%	1 3.7%	2 8.70%	5 7.14%
11. Gender Equality & Women Empowerment	1 5%	1 3.7%	1 4.35%	3 4.29%
12. Ethnic & Minority Rights	1 5%	1 3.7%	1 4.35%	3 4.29%
13. Other	1 5%	2 7.41%	1 4.35%	3 4.29%
Total =	20	27	23	70

Graph 5: Percentages of development news topics in three papers



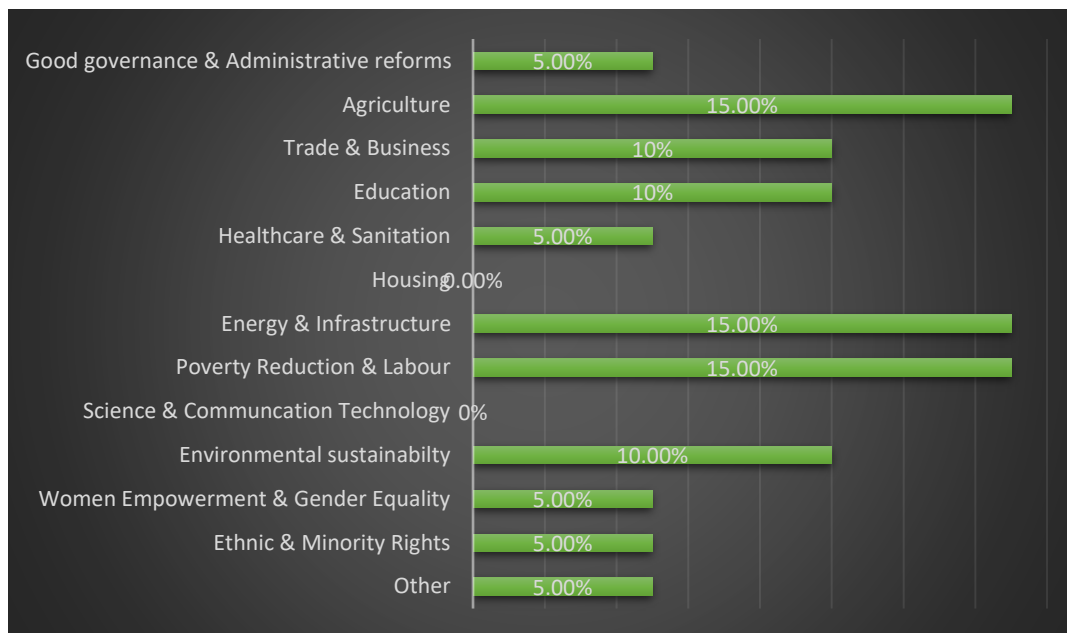
As shown in Table 2 and Graph 5, the most frequent development topic for three newspapers was energy and infrastructure at 27.14 percent, followed by business, and education, 10 percent for both. The topic of science and communication technology was absent in all newspapers. All these papers preferred topics like energy and infrastructure, trade and business, education, labour rights and poverty reduction; on the contrary, categories as science and communication technology, housing, ethnic and minority rights were the least covered.

Graph 6: Percentages of development news topics in Jugantor



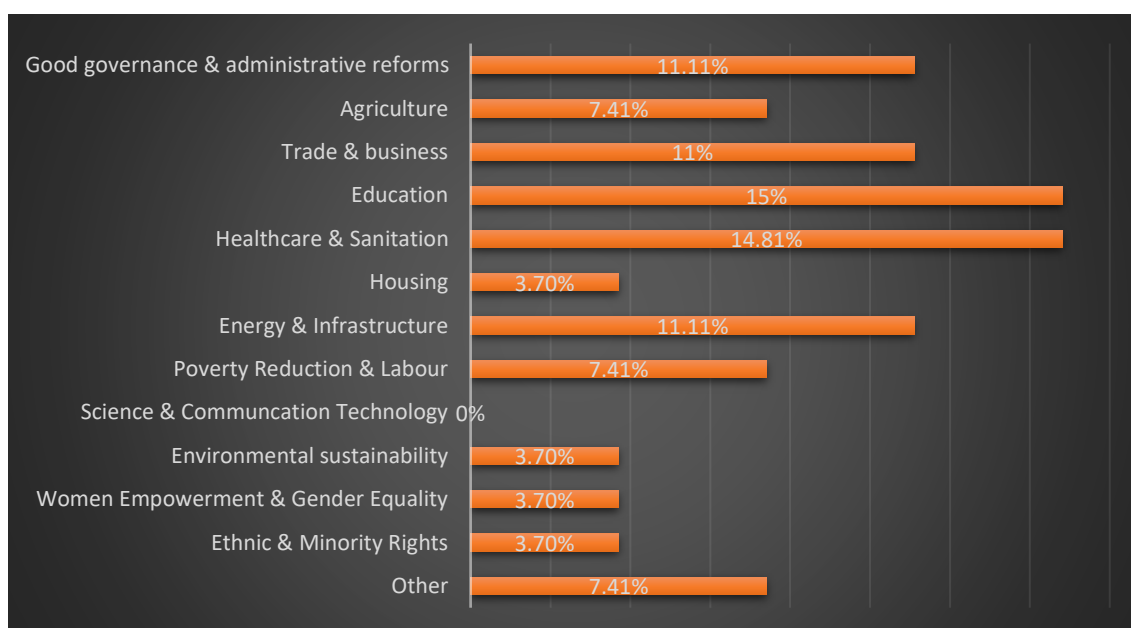
Energy and infrastructure was the highest covered topic in all newspapers but Jugantor published the maximum number of news relating to infrastructure which accounts for more than 48 percent of its total development news. Trade and business, environmental sustainability got the same treatment, almost 9 percent and the least covered topics were education (4%), housing, poverty reduction and labour rights, gender equality and women empowerment, ethnic and minority rights, 4.35 percent respectively for all those categories. Topics like good governance and administrative reforms, agriculture, healthcare and sanitation, science and communication technology were completely absent in that media.

Graph 7: Percentages of development news topics in The Daily Star



While energy and infrastructure was the most covered development topic in The Daily Star, which held for 15 percent of total development news, poverty reduction and labour, agriculture also got the same importance, 15 percent. Trade and business, education, environmental sustainability got the same coverage which is 10 percent per topic. Housing, science and technology were not covered by this paper.

Graph 8: percentages of development topics in Prothom Alo



On the other hand, development topics education, healthcare and sanitation were the most represented development issues in Prothom Alo, almost 15 percent, followed by good governance and administrative reforms, trade and business, and energy and infrastructure, 11 percent for all. Agriculture and poverty reduction and labour got moderate coverage (7.41%); housing, environmental sustainability, gender equality and women empowerment, and ethnic and minority rights were the least preferable topics (3.7%). Like two other counterparts, science and technology was absent in Prothom Alo.

Among the three newspapers, Prothom Alo was more diverse in terms of covering development topics. It represented every mentioned development topic except science and communication technology. Conversely, Jugantor covered relatively fewer development topics: good governance and administrative reforms, agriculture, healthcare and sanitation, science and communication technology were completely missing here, and a large portion of development news were related to energy and infrastructure which accounts for more than 48 percent of total development news on that paper. The other newspaper, The Daily Star was moderate in terms of covering development news topics, they covered every sector except science and communication technology, and housing.

In terms of covering development news, there is a slight difference between Prothom Alo and The Daily Star and in terms of prioritising different themes, they both shared common ground as they covered almost every development topic but Jugantor preferred only a few topics.

Combined with the prominence of energy and infrastructure, education, and trade and business and the low results for gender equality and women empowerment, ethnic and minority rights and good governance this quantitative analysis indicated that three newspapers in this study concentrated on development agenda set by the Bangladesh government although some development goals like constructing democratic state, reducing population, globalization, digital Bangladesh were absent in those news stories. Development priorities exhibited in three newspapers overall reflected Vision 2021 though the percentage of development news is inconsequential.

4.2 Qualitative analysis

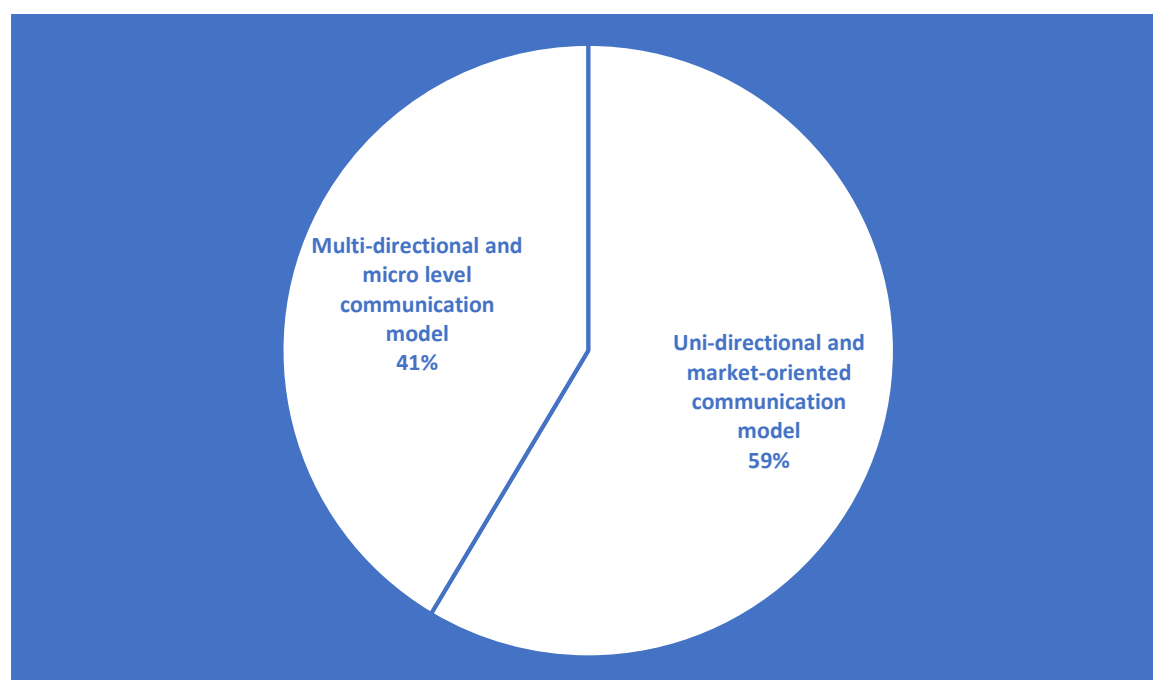
In the previous section of the analysis, I have conducted a quantitative content analysis of three Bangladeshi newspapers. I have found that 21 editions of these newspapers published only 70 development news out of 2460 total news stories which accounted for less than three percent of total news articles from January 2018 to June 2018.

To answer the main question concerning the representation style of these newspapers of Bangladesh in terms of development news, I carried out the qualitative analysis. It offered some interesting perspectives on Bangladeshi media's development issue presentation. Here, I have analyzed 70 development news articles. Having completed my study, I found how development news was represented in 2018 by the journalists of the three leading newspapers of Bangladesh.

I examined the main research question from the standpoint of the Modernization theory and Participatory theory of development communication. The qualitative analysis was conducted with the help of the frame analysis, here I attempted to illustrate different angles of development news published on the Bangladeshi media.

Having perused the development news articles published in the above mentioned three Bangladeshi newspapers, I formed two frames: 1) Unidirectional and market-oriented development communication model or approach of the development news stories, 2) Multidirectional and micro level development communication approach of the development news stories. These frames represent different views from several angles (hierarchical, sender-oriented communication approach of news, capitalist economy, Western model development, the multidirectional transmission of information, micro-economy, grassroot people as the sender, emphasize on the procedure). To be specific, I have analyzed the stories content and found some news articles presented news from unidirectional angles (news stories in which news presented persuasive view of hierarchical sources, fortifies capitalist economy, Western development model, democratic policies) and some cover from participatory perspective (multidirectional approach, general people as news sources and actors, stressing on procedure, micro-economy, grassroots empowerment).

Graph 9: Overview of the frames of development news in the Bangladeshi media



Here, I have presented several development news stories' headlines which describe the frames' content. Each of these headlines related to the sources of these development news stories and meanings and nature of the presentation of the stories.

Table 3: Some development news headlines related to Unidirectional model frame

<i>News Headlines</i>
Creating a skilled workforce, Quality education must
Poor governance can put feats at stake
Key to positive childbirth experience
Why is the project floundering?
Closing the gap
FDI in apparel sector
Time to adopt a visionary approach
Workers in foreign jail
More lives cost unnecessarily

Act fast to save Halda
Halda's bio-diversity in danger
Quality control needed in building infrastructure
Govt to build three more power plant
Anti-corruption bureau to investigate fertilizer mill project
New project for traffic signal management
2 committees for MPOs
Flood flow area vanished

Table 4: Some development news headlines related to Multi-directional model frame

<i>News Headlines</i>
Boro farming uncertain
Sheep farming gets popular
Fertile land made barren for bricks
The election in tea gardens and the larger issues of tea workers
Residents facing many problems
42cr tk in vain for useless drilling
Exporting bio-fertilizer to the Middle East
Unplanned road digging causing a hazard
Millions vanished in name of the dam project
Waterlogged flyover
Ultra-poor employment program
Employment through honey farming
Jagannathpur dam project money looted
Free mental health service

4.2.1 Unidirectional and market-oriented development communication model of development news stories

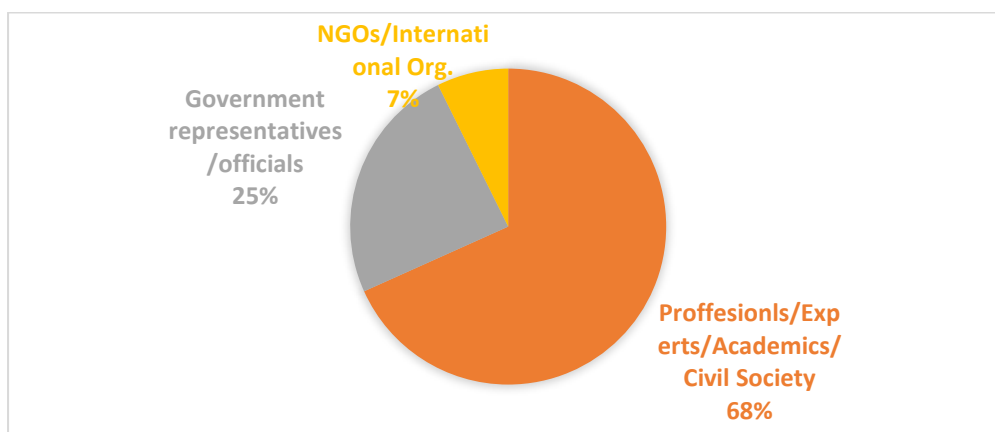
This communication model or approach associated with the modernization or dominant theory of development communication. It suggests that media-centered persuasion activities could make an underdeveloped country into a modern one (Schramm, 1964 as cited in Waisbord,

2001, p.3). From the diffusive or persuasive angle, it is a vertical way in which the transmitter transmits the message by the communication or media forms to receivers. In this approach, high officials, professionals and practitioners play a central role as a transmitter of the information who would enlighten population in development projects and activities (Waisbord, 2001). This approach also stressed on economic advancement which contended that to become an economically advanced society a country needs to achieve political stability such democratic norms, economic growth, liberal economic model and supportive public policies and this can be achieved by effective communication through the mass media (Rostow, 1960 as cited in McPhail, 2009, p.7).

Specifically, this frame explored the news stories which presented the unidirectional process of transmission of information as well as promote Western model development, supportive public policies, political stability and democratic practice, and capitalist economy and these are the main semantic parts of this frame.

This frame holds the majority of space (58.57%) in the development issues in three leading Bangladeshi newspapers. This frame consists of 60 percent of The Daily Star's total development news, almost 71 percent of Prothom Alo and 44 percent of Jugantor's news. Here, the unidirectional sources of information refers to government representatives and officials, NGOs, international organizations, civil society, academics/experts/professionals who disseminated information or messages through announcements, discussions, reports, criticism and advocacy. By means of these hierarchical development news articles, journalists portrayed the presentation of development news stories in their papers.

Graph 10: Frequency of different hierarchical sources in Unidirectional frame



Professionals/Experts/Academics/Civil Society took the dominant position within the unidirectional and market-oriented communication frame in Bangladeshi print media (68%). All newspapers in this study overwhelmingly dependent on this source which is an indication of how development news is framed by the journalists as Mason (2007, p.110) stated, basically dependence on hierarchical sources or transmitters compress the amount of disagreement which leads to homogenization of media message. Development news which is related to professionals/experts/academics/civil society was dominated by advocacy (50%), criticism of development works/projects (35.71%) and reports on various development works/projects (14.29%).

News articles, ‘FDI in apparel sector, Time to adopt a visionary approach’ (The Daily Star, 2018 April 9), ‘Quality Control needed’ (Jugantor, 2018 February 25), ‘Energy Hub, Strategic environmental survey needed’ (Prothom Alo, 2018 April 23) highlighted agenda of this source which presents a vertical model where transmitters convey information and message with help of mass media to receivers which ultimately promotes modernization nature of communication (Waisbord, 2001). Among the three newspapers, Prothom Alo was more dependent on this source for their development news. Almost 45 percent of their development news represented this source. Professionals/experts/academics also got high preference to the journalists of The Daily Star (40%). Reporters of this paper mainly focused on professionals/experts/academics’ reports and criticism on development issues rather than advocacy. Jugantor comparatively had fewer professionals/experts/academicians as a source in their news although the percentage is higher (34.78%) than its government and NGOs/international organizations’ sources. Journalists of this paper covered more advocacy and criticism related stories.

Among the three sources, the government holds second position (25%) within the unidirectional and market-oriented development communication model. A majority (70%) of the government sources included the announcements of various development projects and rest (30%) of them related to mismanagements and irregularities of development works and projects.

Here, Prothom Alo covered the majority of (70%) development news among three papers where sources were government representatives or officials. News stories as ‘Foreign investment only for exporters’ (2018 June 5), ‘2 committees for MPOs’ (2018 June 20), ‘Japan announces 20 thousand crore taka loan’ (2018 May 15) only focused on promotional activities

of the government rather than participatory structure and procedure.

Jugantor published 20 percent of news related to government sources among three papers in which sources are government representatives or officials. The journalists of this paper published development news where the government decides what is best for the general people, without recognizing their interest in the development process that was initiated (Servaes, 1989; Mody, 1991; White, 1994) and this assertion is evident in this story: ‘New project for traffic management’ in which the government ignored experts and general peoples’ opinion regarding controlling the traffic signal.

The Daily Star also published news articles where sources were government officials (10%) in which most of them are promotional news of the government.

A small percentage of news articles dedicated to the NGOs/international organizations (7%) and this source was omitted in two Bengali newspapers, Prothom Alo and Jugantor. Only The Daily Star mentioned this source in their stories. Reporters of this daily covered stories: ‘Creating skilled workforce, Quality education must’ (2018 January 18), ‘Key to positive childbirth experience’ (2018 February 18), ‘National budget, 20pc funds demanded for education sector’ (2018 April 25) where reporters presented what NGOs/international organizations discussed for advancement of the country. Example: ‘Key to positive childbirth experience’ a report which was presented by the World Health Organization (WHO).

By analyzing 70 articles, I found 41 news stories presented the development news from the unidirectional and capitalist perspective or dominant perspective. News articles like, ‘Child labor eradication within 2025’ (Prothom Alo, 2018 June 20), experts provided recommendations to eradicate child labor within 2025 in a forum where child laborers’ participation was completely missing in the scenario. The article did not cover child laborers’ perspective or their opinion; it only presented what international and national experts think to solve this problem which is an example of unidirectional communication approach where experts assume what they decided is best for the population (Mody, 1991; Servaes, 1989; Waisbord, 2001).

The journalists of this newspaper under this study paid attention to concern and opinion of the top-level personnel rather than grassroots opinion or complain. Therefore, they presented experts’ opinion in: ‘Paramedic at healthcare institution to reduce maternity and child death

rate' (Prothom Alo, 2018 January 25), 'More challenges to become developing country' (Prothom Alo, 2018 March 18), 'Energy hub, Strategic Environmental Survey needed' (Prothom Alo, 2018 April 23), 'No need for democracy or environment?' (Prothom Alo, 2018 January 25), 'Who will save banking sector?' (Prothom Alo, 2018 May 15) news articles like those. Those stories have mainly written for specific small educated audiences as these articles' language was more academic and used lots of technical words and focused on result oriented top-down perspectives. In those articles, hierarchical actors asserted that only government intervention can bring desired goals. In a report, experts emphasized that issues like corruption in the project or environmental damage could be minimized by the government intervention, they undermined local peoples' participation in the project and specific context of that place ('Energy hub, Strategic environmental survey needed,' Prothom Alo, 2018 April 23).

News stories, 'Foreign investment only for exporters' (Prothom Alo, 2018 June 5), '2 committees for MPOs' (Prothom Alo, 2018 June 20), 'Japan announces 20 thousand crore taka loan' (Prothom Alo, 2018 May 15) only fortified promotional news of government rather than process and actions. News report, 'No need for democracy or environment?' (Prothom Alo, 2018 January 25) experts stressed on effective action towards a democratic society by expanding democratic ideas and practices which resemble modernization theory's notion of democratic society to become a Western-styled modern society (Pye, 1963 see in McPhail, 2009, p. 8).

Journalists of this media tend to promote the traditional development model with a capitalist economy which is visible in news stories: 'More challenges to become developing country' (Prothom Alo, 2018 March 18) where an international organization's experts (the United Nations Center for Development Policy - CDP) contended that to become a full category developing country within 2024, it needs to focus on political stability, make new progressive economic policies, build economic infrastructures, supportive public policies, and maintain high rates of GDP which echoed five stages of modernization ladder described by Walter Rostow (1960) (see in McPhail, 2009, p.7). A report, 'Turn parliament TV into educational TV' (Prothom Alo, 2018 March 18) suggested that to make people educated and create awareness, government and NGOs should use modern media technologies rather than local media platforms (e.g. street drama, sermon, door to door awareness activities, community-based activities) which reinforces Rostow's argument of applying information technologies and modern media platforms for modernization of society (*Ibid*). In an opinion piece ('Who

will save banking sector?') experts urged the government to take measures against bank defaulters, increase bank capital, and take sustainable actions for recovering default loan (Prothom Alo, 2018 May 15).

The Daily Star published 12 stories from this perspective. Articles as: 'Poor governance can put feats at stake' (The Daily Star, 2018 January 18), 'Why the project is plundering?' (The Daily Star, 2018 February 27), 'Closing the gap' (The Daily Star, 2018 February 27), 'Act fast to save Halda' (The Daily Sar, 2018 June 30) displayed dominant approach in which local elites with the guidance and direction from foreign specialists designing and executing plan. In story as, 'Poor governance can put feats at stake' (2018, January 18) journalist emphasizes on experts and foreign representatives of development partners, where they stressed on good governance which includes transparency in judiciary, law enforcement, land administration, tax and customs, and create business environment for local and foreign investors to achieve 7th five years development goals of Bangladesh government, and the United Nations set Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The five years plan of Bangladesh government and the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) both support development described by Western situations as capitalist market and democratic practices.

News stories, 'Creating skilled workforce, Quality education must' (The Daily Star, 2018 January 18), 'Closing the gap' (The Daily Star, 2018 February 27) gave priority on Western education policies and application to create a skilled workforce and ensure gender equality.

Some of the articles focused on the more capitalist approach: 'Why is the project floundering?' (The Daily Star, 2018 February 27), 'FDI in the apparel sector, time to adopt a visionary approach' (The Daily Star, 2018 April 9) and 'Govt to build three more power plants' (The Daily Star, 2018 February 27). Opinion piece: 'FDI in the apparel sector, time to adopt a visionary approach' (The Daily Star, 2018 April 9) written by an expert argued, to open Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) in the apparel sector what Bangladesh government should do. He recommended that to attract foreign companies, the government should refine the regulatory system, create investment-friendly policy and environment like infrastructure, energy supply, double tax deduction, give tax incentives for machinery import. He contended that to sustain economic growth the government should implement all those recommendations. Here, this report completely ignored one of the main components of the apparel industry, employees or garment workers. As cheap labor is the main reason of the success of the apparel industry in

Bangladesh, laborer's rights and well-being should have been included here to represent garment workers, but the story only covered dominant perspectives.

Another opinion report 'Why is the project floundering?' (The Daily Star, 2018 February 27) criticized the government for its failure to complete Dhaka Elevated Expressway and recommended to create a monitoring cell in the administration for such a mega project. Hence, the above-mentioned stories have some common grounds, as all of them stressed on to adopt progressive economic policies, refine the business regulatory system. And most of those stories are strongly market-oriented and for the business audiences rather than general audiences as business audiences are more lucrative to these commercial media which reinforces Soola's contention. He asserted that economic interest of news is possibly the most efficacious threat for the development journalism as the aimed receivers or public of development news are often less privileged people of society are not desirous because they are economically not lucrative to the sponsors or advertisers (Soola, 2001, p.122). Moreover, those news articles' language is full of technical jargon.

Though some articles' contents are related to sufferings of general people but their sources are professionals or experts: 'Bring them on development bandwagon' (The Daily Star, 2018 February 27) headlined story devoted to the suffering of disabled women but news sources were experts and civil society who recommended work opportunities, social safety nets, disability friendly infrastructure and inclusion of disabled women to development planning which reinforces Waisbord's (2001) contention of persuasive attitude of hierarchical personnel's transmission of message.

Jugantor published 10 news articles out of 23 articles from this perspective which is comparatively less than its two other counterparts. Majority of this paper's news devoted to business and infrastructure and those news stories reflected five stages modernization ladder. Reports like 'Importance of FTA, overcoming LDC' (2018 February 25) suggests becoming a full category developing country within 2021, Bangladesh needs to overcome political instability and ensure democracy as democratic practice seen as a determining factor to become an advanced society in modernization theory (Pye, 1963 as cited in McPhail, 2009, p.8). Some reports, 'Quality control needed in building infrastructure' (Jugantor 2018 February 25), 'Buyer-consumer interest overlooked in new company law' (Jugantor 2018 February 25), 'Mega transit project: What in the future?' (Jugantor 2018 April 14) addressed to adopt new

rhetoric, industrialized behavior and attitude which reflected modern values (McPhail, 2009).

Reporters of this paper covered development news topics: environment, business, education from professional/expert's perspective: 'Halda's bio-diversity in danger' (Jugantor, 2018 January 10) in this article the reporter describes how illegal sand drazing, engine boats are damaging Halda river's biodiversity. Here, sources are a university professor, a river researcher and an environmentalist. Local people's view completely ignored as they are real victims of this situation which is contrary to development journalism' notion of focus on ordinary people (Djokotoe, 2013). Reports as 'Quality control needed in building infrastructure' (2018 February 25), 'Buyer-consumer interest overlooked in new company law?' (2018 February 25), 'Importance of FTA' (2018 February 25), 'Mega transit project, What in the future' (2018 April 14) were intended for a small specific audience as the language of those reports was more technical. By analyzing Jugantor's hierarchical development news stories it can be said that most of the reports lack thorough investigation or interpretation which categorize them as spot news which is contradictory to the notion of development journalism.

4.2.2 Multidirectional and micro level communication model of development news stories

Multidirectional and micro level communication approach related to participatory theory. This communication approach focuses on efficient usage of communication media and methods to expand grassroots involvement in the development process. People are central to community participation. It restrained the influence of hierarchical sources and actors in terms of transmission information in the development process while accentuating the centrality of local wisdom and aspiration. According to this approach, communication is a parallel process which is completely different from the linear approach of the modernization model in which experts play the key role of transmitters. Participatory communication thrives on input from people from all walk of life and of every socio-economic sphere and stresses on the basic right of all people to be heard, to speak for themselves, and not be represented or rewarded by another party. Three arguments exist for this communication: the local people own necessary information regarding their own conditions and are a unique element without that development activities might unsuccessful; marginalized people have the basic right to participate in the

formation of their own development and insertion of those people are able to attract more support which will, in turn, accelerate the implementation of common goals (Waisbord, 2001; McPhail, 2009).

Multidirectional and micro level communication model consists of nearly 42 percent of total development news stories. Here, I investigated how this frame covered the multi-directional process of transmission of information as well as promote grassroots development which is the main semantic part of this frame. Locals, ordinary citizens, beneficiaries of development works, projects and local successful people were presented in three newspapers through their activities, opinions, criticisms.

Jugantor published majority (56.52%) of development news where sources or actors were the locals or beneficiaries, quite contrary to its two counterparts. Almost 93 percent of its stories devoted to general peoples' criticism toward irregularities and mismanagement of development works, projects and various problems, and most of them were directed at development topic, energy and infrastructure. Journalists of Jugantor published surface or spot news stories rather than long in-depth reports, here it was expected that the paper would present process-driven participatory news. Some of them: 'Residents facing many problems' (2018 January 10), 'Tenrigiri forest in threat' (2018 February 25), 'Unplanned road digging causing hazard' (2018 March 19), 'Waterlogged flyover' (2018 March 17), 'Vatara area waterlogging' (2018 June 8), 'Sand instead of cement' (2018 June 8) failed to investigate the problems properly.

News stories like, '42cr taka goes in vain for useless drazing' (2018, June 10), 'Millions vanished name of dam project' (2018, March 27), 'Jagannathpur dam project money looted by UP chairman' (2018, June 8), 'Corruption in Companyganj road construction' (2018, June 8) all reflected local peoples' critical attitude towards government's irregularities, corruption and mismanagement in development works through media participation which resembled Hamelink's (1990) notion of critical attitude through participation (see in Waisbord, 2001, p.19). Some reports exposed social evils by monitoring public services which matched Battacharya's (2005) direction for writing participatory development reporting.

As most of the stories were related to energy and infrastructure, this paper avoided some topics which are connected to marginalized people of society as agriculture, poverty reduction and labor, gender equality and women empowerment, and ethnic and minority rights. The

agriculture-related topic was expected in this frame where many people engaged in agricultural activities, but this was completely ignored by the journalists of this paper. It is also applied to labor as a large number of women working in the apparel and other sectors, but the paper failed to recognize them.

The Daily Star published 8 stories out of 22 from this perspective. The paper published a considerate number of development news stories (40% among all sources) where the locals or beneficiaries were the main sources. Majority of those stories (62.5%) devoted to local peoples' critical opinion towards different issues and development projects and the rest of them (37.5%) focused on successful empowerment stories of local people.

Unlike Jugantor, The Daily Star's news stories emphasized to the larger context of development. 'Election in tea gardens and the larger issues of tea workers' (2018, June 30) presented one of the most neglected sections of people in the society, tea workers and focused on how this particular group of people speak to each other in their community, articulate their thoughts and actions in the process of organizing which resembles Xiaoge's (2009) participatory concept. News articles, 'Boro farming uncertain' (The Daily Star, 2018 January 18), 'Fertile land made barren for bricks' (The Daily Star, 2018 June 20), 'Worries grow over jobs in Malaysia' (The Daily Star, 2018 June 30) reported from the field, explained the issues, avoided technical jargon and humanized the development stories by reporting individual sufferings which goes in the line with Djokotoe's (2013) participatory development journalism criteria. Some stories took a more individualistic approach, focused on certain grassroot people where journalist examined the micro-economic success of those groups. In the report, 'Nakhshi Kantha tradition thrives in Chapainwabgaj' (The Daily Star, 2018 January 18) rural women of a district told how they empowered themselves by participating in a community project. The community project encouraged them to participate in the decision-making process which led them to engage in self-empowerment through Nakhshi Kantha (embroidered quilt) business.

Participatory development approach encourages micro level empowerment because community members can evaluate their knowledge and observations and comprehend the cause for the failure and progress of actions (Waisbord 2001, p.22). This is visible in the story 'Sheep farming gets popular' (2018, May 25) revealed that sheep farmers' group communication created an opportunity for them to involve in economic activities and communities and provided them with a sense of power and skills. Sheep farmer community by participatory

communication empowered themselves and become financially solvent.

One report 'Today's farming' (The Daily Star, 2018 February 18) provided different aspect though it's all sources were local farmers, the story showed the advantages of modernization of agriculture in which 90 percent of land farming become mechanized which makes their work relaxed. This story illustrates a mixed communication approach by displaying grassroots source with individual success and modernization nature of the news presentation.

Among the three newspapers, Prothom Alo provided relatively less importance to the participatory approach. Local sources and actors comprised only 30 percent of their total development news. Journalists of this paper concentrated on the news which was related to local peoples' view, opinion on mismanagements and irregularities and successful activities of locals. Majority of these papers stories did not broaden the stories which could be categorized as surface news as 'Indoor ward unopened for 5 years' (2018 January 5), 'Take steps to stop river corrosion' (2018 February 10), 'Free mental health service' (2018 March 18), 'Shops at school premise' (2018 April 23), 'Risky Bridge on Titash' (2018 January 25), 'Pathology service at home' (2018 May 15). These stories reflected local peoples' sufferings and their attitude to authorities.

Only two reports displayed subtle investigation, and sincere association with grassroots: 'Employment through bee farming' (2018 January 5) and 'Jessore exports cabbage' (2018 February 10). Both reports showed through community participation, local farmers were able to make them economically independent.

4.2.3 Discussion

In this section, I briefly discuss my main findings of quantitative and qualitative analysis. The quantitative study of the three newspapers demonstrated a dismal attitude to cover development news stories. Less than 3 percent of news fulfilled the criteria of the operationalized definition of development news. While compared to the prior works of development journalism it was found that it is a below the expectation range result, tremendously low than 52 percent of Malaysia (Mustafa, 1979), even below the 10 percent found in Zimbabwe study (Tshabangu, 2013), only quite near to (4 to 8 percent) Indian study (Murthy, 2001).

In 2018, Bangladesh placed 136th among 189 nations in the United Nations Development Program's (UNDP) Human Development Index ("Bangladesh moves 3 notches up;" 2018) which would imply that development is an important issue for the Bangladeshi people, but the newspapers' development coverage failed to reflect that. This may indicate a negative sign for the media's role in the national development process. A report on Bangladesh's Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) stated that the PRS has remained a key focus of the government of Bangladesh (IMF, 2013) but this study showed the media have tended to give importance to other issues than development. The quantity of development news found in this study showed that in the national development process the media failed to participate seriously. This trend was particularly true for Jugantor (only 2 percent development news) although the rest of the newspapers were also reluctant in terms of covering development news.

Development topics covered in those newspapers showed some interesting results. Development topics in this study were selected on the basis of previous studies of development journalism, development perspective plan of the Bangladesh government and the United Nations' Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Of those topics, energy and infrastructure were the most frequent topic for all newspapers combinedly, followed by business, education, poverty reduction and labor.

Now coming to development topics published in three newspapers, improvement of infrastructure is the main goal of government's development plan but factors that often influence infrastructure such as lack of transportation and energy did not include in Vision 21021 goals, so in these papers. Jugantor published almost 49 percent development news related to infrastructure which shows journalists of this paper's reluctant attitude to cover diverse issues. Trade and business, and education were the most frequent after infrastructure. Most of the news related to trade and business gave attention to adopt new business policies, reform trade laws, environment-friendly industrialization which indicate those papers put an emphasis on government's Vision 2021 goals which prioritized industrialization and trade policy (IMF, 2013). All of those business-related stories were published for a specific audience which exhibits the dominant nature of development news. In comparison with Bangladesh government's development plan, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) mainly emphasized on grassroots development agenda that focused on the reduction of extreme poverty, ensure the primary education, women and gender equality, combat HIV/AIDS and other diseases. Overall MDGs had poor showing among development issues published in

Bangladeshi media. Though there were almost 9 percent reports related to labor and poverty reduction topic, those were not directly involved with extreme poverty eradication. This also applies in education, where MDGs put importance on primary education for all, articles published in those papers related to the modernization of education system, quality of higher education for skilled workforce rather than elementary education.

Women comprised half of the population of Bangladesh and 35.6 percent of the total workforce (Khatun, 2018). Although the apparel industry - the biggest manufacturing sector in the country where 90 percent workforce is poor women, and agriculture in which half of working force are rural women, gender equality and women empowerment did not get preference to the journalists of those newspapers, it was only 4 percent of total development news. This implies that grassroots development is not a major concern for Bangladeshi journalists. This trend also evident in ethnic and minority rights topic, only a small portion of news dedicated to this topic.

According to Environment Performance Index - EPI (2018), Bangladesh is the second worst performing country out of 180 countries at reducing environmental pollution with a score of 29.56 and one of the most vulnerable victims of climate change. Researchers predicted that in future 43 million people from coastal areas (coastal population consist of 28% of its total population) might be displaced if the sea level rises by about 88 cm in the future (Akter, 2009, p.11). Despite its serious effects and is one of the development goals in Vision 2021, and one of the MDGs, the environmental sustainability issue was not on the priority lists of the journalists.

In spite of being one of the top priorities of Bangladesh government (as their agenda to build digital Bangladesh) information and communication technology topic was completely ignored by those papers. Health and sanitation topic was absent in Jugantor, and one of the least covered issues in The Daily Star despite comprising three of the MDGs - child mortality, maternal health, combat HIV/AIDS and other diseases. Although it was one of the most covered in Prothom Alo, news stories were not related to combat diseases and child mortality and maternal health. It is necessary to mention that health and education topics were included in the development plan Vision 2021 in the form of sustainable human development.

The quantitative analysis for agriculture, however, was a complex issue. While absent in Jugantor, and considerate percentage in Prothom Alo, it got top priority in The Daily Star. This

topic was expected to have a greater representation on other Bengali papers as Bangladesh is a country where a large number of poor people especially, rural women engaged in farming and agricultural activities. Though agriculture was not directly mentioned in Vision 2021, passively exists in the form of food security. One of the important development topics was good governance and administrative reforms which is also a top priority of Bangladesh government, but this topic did not get importance in The Daily Star and Jugantor.

Among three papers the English daily The Daily Star and Bengali paper Prothom Alo were more diverse in covering development news topics, on the other hand, Jugantor displayed only a few development topics. Comparing English and Bengali language papers, representation style of English daily was more fascinating as most of the development news published in The Daily Star presented analytical perspectives and subtle investigations.

Combined with the prominence of energy and infrastructure, education, and trade and business and the low results for gender equality and women empowerment, ethnic and minority rights and good governance this quantitative analysis indicated that three newspapers in this study stressed on development agenda set by the Bangladesh government although some development goals like constructing democratic state, reducing population, globalization, digital Bangladesh were absent in those news stories. Development themes exhibited in three papers overall reflected the government's development plan but variation among those implied that this practice discrepancy was based on those newspapers' structural imperatives.

Study findings of unidirectional and market-oriented, and multidirectional and micro-level development communication approach illustrated that development journalism practice in three newspapers combinedly stressed more (59%) on top-down approach of persuasion model although participatory communication approach has a moderate representation (41%) which recognized potential for communication of a pro-grassroots agenda that 'starts with the acknowledgement of the population's view on, and perceptions of, poverty' (Ansoms & Rostagno, 2012, p.442). It can be said that newspapers of Bangladesh represent both models of development journalism practice, but the representation of participatory communication is not significant enough.

Majority of the stories contain sender oriented and behavioral bias that assumed what elites decided was best for general people by ignoring local populations' view and specific context

of the issue or problem. Almost half of the stories written for specific small audiences (educated people) which are conflicting to development journalism's notion of focus on ordinary people (Djokotoe, 2103) or profound relation with the less privileged people (than that of powerful) (Gunaratne 1996 see in Tshabangu 2013, p.314). A large number of stories in this approach supported the capitalist economy which suggested to become a developed country it should focus on political stability, ensure democratic activities, make new progressive economic policies, made public policies, sustain economic growth, maintain the high rates of GDP which reflected Rostow's (1960) five stages of modernization ladder for development.

In this study, Vilanilam's (1979) operational definition of development journalism was used to define development news from the modernization perspective. Exploration of unidirectional development news goes in line with the Vilanilam's definition that stressed on nation-building perspective as journalists of these three papers promoted development priorities expressed by Bangladesh government which endorsed nation building development (e.g. macroeconomic policies, favorable industrialization, building infrastructure, progressive democratic policies) rather than grassroot development.

In this model, The Daily Star and Prothom Alo monitored the stories more closely and tried to explain the issues more deeply but most of the Jugantor's news could be categorized as spot news as they lack proper investigation and analysis.

Among those papers, Jugantor published more participatory approach related news though those stories lack diverse issues of development. Most of the participatory development news published in this paper related to energy and infrastructure which shows an unwillingness to cover different background's grassroots participation in the development process. The English daily, The Daily Star tried to focus on local peoples' participation and community empowerment and economic independence, but the numbers of those reports were inadequate. Prothom Alo gave the least preference to the participatory approach and most of their reports can be categorized as surface news which lacked thorough investigation, critical analysis and interpretation.

Here, to identify participatory development news Xiaoge's (2009) operational definition of participatory development journalism was used. After completing the examination of participatory development news, it can be said that three papers showed a mixed representation of participatory nature. Except for the English daily, the rest of the Bengali papers failed to

meet full criteria of participatory development news (e.g. personify development story, search for particular angles, use news events to clarify issues, follow up news stories, subtle investigation).

The modest but not small portion of representation of the participatory approach in Bangladeshi media sphere was not unpredicted as Mutebi, Stone and Thin (2003) contended that participatory development journalism may be challenging in a country where government is oppressive and non-inclusive by nature, and whose public mainly identified as submissive and role of civil society is unsatisfactory (p.253). As I discussed earlier (see background part) Bangladesh is a hybrid democratic country in which the government is authoritarian, opposition parties are unable to speak, and civil society is weak and media system is not fully free since government attempts to censor the press and harass the journalists. Moreover, large private corporations in Bangladesh took over the space of mass media and journalists of those media often work for the business and economic interest of those corporations; newspapers of this study are also owned by big corporate groups in Bangladesh which explicitly promote pro-market (e.g. Prothom Alo's publishing stance: fundamental rights, democratic politics and a market economy with social justice) rather pro-poor which is also a major constraint for publishing news from participatory perspective. A recent study (2012) also supported this notion (BBC media action, 2012). Moreover, reporters face pressures from advertisers and sponsors. In this condition, the media's attitude towards publishing development news especially, participatory news is quite understandable.

5. Conclusions

This study was aimed at examining the representation style of development journalism practice in Bangladeshi print media from January 2018 to June 2018.

In this situation, the intention of this research was to explore the development news stories in three Bangladeshi newspapers through 1) examination of the extent of development news on three leading national newspapers of Bangladesh 2) frequency of development news topics published in those papers 3) identifying different approaches presented by the journalists of those papers which revealed their representation style, I have found some interesting outcomes.

After taking into considerations of the results of the analysis of development news stories in those print media I have developed the subsequent judgments. This thesis demonstrated that development issues get little attention in the Bangladeshi media despite the fact that development is one of the top priorities of the Bangladesh government as a developing country. Newspapers of this study published less than 3 percent development news in the time duration of January 2018 to June 2018 which showed a disappointing trend towards the development journalism practice in Bangladesh.

The present study also examined the development stories to determine which development topics were most frequently presented by the journalists of those papers and do these categories matched development priorities expressed by the Bangladesh government's development plan. The findings showed that among 13 development news categories energy and infrastructure was the most published news topic followed by trade and business, education, on the contrary gender equality and women empowerment, ethnic and minority rights, environmental sustainability, good governance and administrative reforms were the least preferable categories which probably indicate media's interest in covering more pro-market development issues as marginalized people are less attractive to the advertisers and sponsors.

In terms of newspaper types, the English daily gave preference to agriculture, energy and infrastructure and labor and poverty reduction, while the two Bengali papers stressed more on infrastructure, business, education, healthcare and sanitation.

Finally, this study examined the representation nature of development news in three

newspapers of Bangladesh. And to examine this I formed two frames 1) Unidirectional and market-oriented development communication model or approach 2) Multidirectional and micro level development communication approach and these frames were formed in the context of Modernization theory and Participatory theory of development communication. The analysis revealed that journalists of Bangladeshi media applied more unidirectional and market-oriented development communication approach (59%) in the development journalism, it also showed a moderate portion (41%) of representation of multidirectional approach. This indicates they represent a combined approach of development communication model by acknowledging the general peoples' view, however, the participatory portion is not satisfactory to the expectation level of development journalism practice; contemporary development journalism researchers (Banda, 2007; Xiaoge, 2009; Djokotoe, 2013) give priority to the participatory approach of development journalism.

Outcomes of unidirectional and market-oriented development communication model showed top-level sources especially, professionals/academics/experts/civil society dominate the source of transmission of information, they enlighten the rest of the population about development projects and activities and relevant government policies. They also advocated for the market economy, political stability, progressive economic policies, high rates of GDPs which matched the nation-building perspective of the modernization theory of development communication as well as Bangladesh government's national development goals. A small but not the least portion of sources were government officials and NGOs and international organizations in this approach. It is notable that news stories where sources were government officials, most of the stories were event-driven and some news more frequently taking the form of spot news. In this model, The Daily Star and Prothom Alo presented the stories more closely and tried to explain issues more deeply but most of the Jugantor's news can be categorized as spot news as they lack proper investigation and analysis.

Conversely, the news related to participatory communication approach showed a mixed representation. In this approach, news sources were local people, the beneficiaries of different development projects, general people who expressed their critical attitudes toward mismanagements and irregularities of development projects and activities. In a few reports through the sources were local, nature of the stories reflected modernization aspects. Journalists of these papers unable to cover some development issues which are very crucial to the overall development of a country. For example, Bangladesh is a country where agriculture accounts

for almost 19 percent of total GDP and source of income of a large number of people especially, women who did not get proper attention to the journalists, particularly Jugnator's. Very few stories focused on individualistic approach where journalists explored the micro-level economic success of those individuals or communities. Although The Daily Star published some good participatory development news, Prothom Alo's news related to participatory was neither encouraging nor significant, most of them could be categorized as spot news. Three newspapers, especially Bengali papers were failed to reflect the participatory nature of development news in their stories.

It is necessary to mention that the current Bangladeshi government is quite authoritarian, the media is partly free, journalists regularly face harassment by the government and ruling party people. At the same time, they face commercial imperatives of corporate media as the target audience for development are often less privileged people of society are not desirous to advertisers since they lack 'enough purchasing power' to satisfy sponsors (Soola, 2001, p.122). In this study, all those selected newspapers are owned and controlled by big corporate groups in the country which could be major constraints to practice development journalism in those media.

The result of the study showed that representation of development news in three leading newspapers of Bangladesh focused more on modernization nature through top-down communication process, free market, political stability, Western-styled democracy, progressive economic and public policies with a moderate representation of participatory approach. Bangladesh's encounter with political instability, corruption, bad governance, capitalist economy, and visible development bring forth a notable social and economic context to comprehend the development journalism practice in Bangladeshi media.

6. Limitations

It should be noted that the findings that I received having accomplished my study may not be appraised completely comprehensive. Though I examined the three most popular and influential newspapers of Bangladesh, they only consist only one sect of information producers and distributors. Total 3096 print media are published in the country, whilst 1237 of them are newspapers, among them 93 national newspapers. Moreover, numerous numbers of news television channels, radio stations, online media broadcasting news every day.

It would be rational to investigate whether the conventional study of development journalism and development journalism study model applied here have any relative importance any given culture or demographic context of a country.

However, the results of my study may be called trustworthy and they may encourage other researchers to investigate the development news issues using the same exploratory setup. Conceivably, some data from my study will provide updated information for the oncoming profound research of the Bangladeshi media in the broader context of development journalism theme.

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Appendix 1

13 development topics in this study covered issues:

1. Administrative reforms/ good governance: elimination of corruption and administrative apparatus, government transparency;
2. Agriculture: food production and market, farming, fertilizers, cattle, animal husbandry, land reforms, mechanization;
3. Trade and Business: private enterprises, business environment improvement, development, industrial development, investments, consumer protection, merchandising, banking, trade policies;
4. Education: transposes in educational structures, the elevation of illiteracy, ensure the primary education, adult education and skills development, libraries, development of higher educational institutions;
5. Healthcare and Sanitation: the eradication of epidemic diseases, health promotional activities, mental healthcare, maternal health and child mortality, proper nutrition, sanitation facility, healthcare facilities in rural areas;
6. Housing: inadequate home facilities in urban areas, home construction, rural to urban migration, problems of homelessness;
7. Energy and infrastructure: energy, mining, raw materials, means of transport, leisure industry, organizations, office and factory construction, power and water;
8. Poverty and labour: projects for eradicating extreme poverty, unemployment programs, workers health occupational safety, workers' right;
9. Science and Communication technology: telecommunication, provision of information technologies, knowledge-based development, mass media, science and technology research
10. Environmental sustainability: adverse effects of climate change, initiatives for climate change, provision for climate change migrants, plans and projects to prevent environmental pollution;
11. Gender equity and women empowerment: initiatives to ensure gender equality, women empowerment activities, domestic violence, sexual violence and abuse;
12. Ethnic and minority rights: programs and initiatives to ensure ethnic and minority rights, violence against ethnic and minority people; 13. Other.

Appendix 2

Note: Lists of 21 editions of three newspapers: The Daily Star, Prothom Alo and Jugantor.

The Daily Star

The Daily Star. (2018, January 18 Thursday). Retrieved from <http://epaper.thedailystar.net/index.php?opt=view&page=1&date=2018-01-18>

The Daily Star. (2018, February 18 Sunday). Retrieved from <http://epaper.thedailystar.net/index.php?opt=view&page=1&date=2018-02-18>

The Daily Star. (2018, February 27 Tuesday). Retrieved from <http://epaper.thedailystar.net/index.php?opt=view&page=1&date=2018-02-27>

The Daily Star. (2018, April 9, Monday) Retrieved from <http://epaper.thedailystar.net/index.php?opt=view&page=1&date=2018-04-09>

The Daily Star. (2018, May 25 Friday). Retrieved from <http://epaper.thedailystar.net/index.php?opt=view&page=1&date=2018-05-25>

The Daily Star. (2018, June 6, Wednesday). Retrieved from <http://epaper.thedailystar.net/index.php?opt=view&page=1&date=2018-06-20>

The Daily Star. (2018, June 30, Saturday). Retrieved from <http://epaper.thedailystar.net/index.php?opt=view&page=1&date=2018-06-30>

Daily Jugantor

Daily Jugantor (2018, January 10, Wednesday). Retrieved from <https://epaper.jugantor.com/2018/01/10/>

Daily Jugantor (2018, February 25, Sunday). Retrieved from <https://epaper.jugantor.com/2018/02/25/>

Daily Jugantor (2018, March 19, Monday). Retrieved from <https://epaper.jugantor.com/2018/03/19/>

Daily Jugantor (2018, March 27, Tuesday). Retrieved from <https://epaper.jugantor.com/2018/03/27/>

Daily Jugantor (2018, April 14, Saturday). Retrieved from <https://epaper.jugantor.com/2018/04/14/>

Daily Jugantor (2018, May 17, Thursday). Retrieved from <https://epaper.jugantor.com/2018/05/17/>

Daily Jugantor (2018, June 8, Friday). Retrieved from <https://epaper.jugantor.com/2018/06/08/>

Prothom Alo

Prothom Alo (2018, January 5, Friday). Retrieved from <https://www.prothomalo.com/archive/2018-01-05>

Prothom Alo (2018, February 10, Saturday). Retrieved from <https://www.prothomalo.com/archive/2018-02-10>

Prothom Alo (2018, March 18, Sunday). Retrieved from
<https://www.prothomalo.com/archive/2018-03-18>

Prothom Alo (2018, April 23, Monday). Retrived from
<https://www.prothomalo.com/archive/2018-04-23>

Prothom Alo (2018, January 25, Thursday). Retrieved from
<https://www.prothomalo.com/archive/2018-01-25>

Prothom Alo (2018, June 6, Wednesday). Retrieved from
<https://www.prothomalo.com/archive/2018-06-20>

Prothom Alo (2018, May 15, Tuesday). Retrieved from
<https://www.prothomalo.com/archive/2018-05-15>

N.B. Here I added Prothom Alo's online version at this very moment it is not possible to access e-paper.